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THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

IN

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

IN

The Thirteenth Century

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
DAVID DE BERNHAM OF ST ANDREWS
(BISHOP) A.D. 1239 TO 1253

WITH

LIST OF CHURCHES DEDICATED BY HIM, AND DATES

BY

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IN MEMORIAM DILECTISSIMI FRATRIS, REV. ROBERTI LOCKHART, A.M., QUI POST MINISTERIUM BREVE SED FERVIDUM IN ECCLESIÂ SCOTICANÂ APUD KILMAURS IN VICE-COMITATÛ DE AYR, IBI MORTUUS EST XII° DIE MENSIS AUGUSTI MDCCCLVII.

PREFACE.

THIS Work has been undertaken solely in the interests of Archæological research—to state and elucidate facts in connection with the Medieval Church in Scotland. The subject was originally touched on by the writer in a paper communicated by him to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and published by them in their Proceedings for the years 1885-86, *Vol. VIII., New Series, pp.* 190-200. *Even yet, although much new matter has been added, the writer feels that he has only furnished an imperfect contribution to the ecclesiastical doings of a century associated with the heroic names of Wallace and Bruce, and rich with many striking and important events in the Medieval History of Scotland.*

COLINTON MANSE,
1st February 1889.

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THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

IN THE

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

The Monarchs of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century.

WHEN the thirteenth century dawned upon Scotland, William the Lion was upon the throne. He was the brother of Malcolm IV.—his predecessor—second son of the lamented Prince Henry, grandson of David I., and great-grandson of Malcolm III. (Canmore) and his Saxon queen, Margaret. William, who was born in 1143, ascended the throne on 9th December 1165, and was crowned at Scone on Christmas Eve of that year. Having in the early part of his reign imprudently quarrelled with Henry II. of England about the territory of Northumberland, and

having still more imprudently risked his person in an encounter at Alnwick, he was captured by some Norman barons, and sent a prisoner to the castle of Falaise, in Normandy. This unfortunate result was most prejudicial to the interests of Scotland. For, in order to obtain his liberty, William, with the consent of his barons and clergy, entered into a treaty with Henry, by which he made dishonourable concessions to the English monarch, and bartered away the independence of his country. Not only so, but as a security for the fulfilment of the treaty obligations, hostages were demanded by Henry, and the fortresses of Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Stirling were garrisoned by English troops. The terms of this treaty, however, although degrading to the country, did not in any way compromise the liberties and independence of the Church of Scotland. The clergy of that Church, at all times jealous of the claims put forth by the Metropolitan Sees of York and Canterbury, boldly asserted their independence in presence of a Papal Legate, in a conference at Northampton (1176-77); and this independence was confirmed by Pope Clement III. in a decree issued by him in the year 1188. When Henry II. died, and Richard Cœur de Lion was seated

on the English throne, the latter monarch, being in want of money for a crusade, William, by a payment of ten thousand merks, obtained back again the privileges and rights which had been surrendered by the Treaty of Falaise; and that document having been delivered up and cancelled, the independence of Scotland was once more secured. The Scottish monarch seems to have profited by this unfortunate occurrence. For ever afterwards he showed the most sterling qualities, and stood manfully up for the independence of his kingdom and the Church. He had frequently to put down insurrections in Galloway, Ross, and Caithness, caused chiefly by jealousies between his Celtic and Anglo-Norman barons; and after a reign of nearly half a century —the longest, indeed, of any Scottish monarch— William died at Stirling on the 4th December 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age. His remains were interred in the magnificent Benedictine Monastery of Aberbrothoc (Arbroath), which in 1173 he had founded and endowed, and dedicated to St Mary and the pious memory of Thomas à-Becket.

William was succeeded on the throne by his son Alexander II., a youth then only in the seventeenth year of his age; but whose early

promise after-years fully justified, for he became one of the ablest, wisest, and most active of Scottish kings. Alexander was born in 1198, his mother's name being Ermengarde, and he was crowned at Scone in circumstances of great pomp by William de Malvoisin, Bishop of St Andrews, on the Friday before the Feast of St Nicholas, 1214, being the day after his father's death, in presence of the Earls of Fife, Stratherne, Atholl, Angus, Menteith, Buchan, and Lothian. On the 25th June 1221, Alexander married Joan, daughter of King John, and eldest sister of Henry III. of England; and the Queen of Scotland having died without issue on 4th March 1237-38, he married again on 15th May 1239, Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci of Picardy, and by her he had a son, Alexander, born at Roxburgh on 4th September 1241. In the early part of his reign, and indeed before his first marriage, the Scottish monarch took part with the barons of England in resisting the tyranny of King John, and thereby assisted to call forth that famous instrument known as "Magna Charta." For this action Alexander was excommunicated by the Pope; but not only did this high-minded monarch, and great Church protector, disregard the spiritual sentence of Rome, but when a Papal Legate (Otho) sub-

sequently entered the kingdom, and held a council at Edinburgh, the sovereign refused to see him, and only permitted the council to be held upon condition that it should not be drawn into a precedent. In the year 1244, Alexander was prudent enough to avoid a war with Henry III. of England, although the Scottish monarch mustered an army of 100,000 men in the prospect of a conflict; but having on one occasion led an expedition against some troublesome petty chiefs in the West Highlands of Scotland, the king was seized with a fever, and died in the small island of Kerrera, near Oban, on 8th July 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign. His remains were interred in Melrose Abbey.

Alexander III. was only in the eighth year of his age when his father died. He was crowned at Scone on 13th July 1249, by David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, in presence of the principal nobles and clergy of the kingdom. On the 26th December 1257, he married Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England, and there were three children born of this marriage—viz., Margaret, born in 1262, married Eric, King of Norway, in 1281, died in 1283, leaving one child, Margaret, the Maiden of Norway; Alexander,

born at Jedburgh on 21st January 1263-64, died after marriage without issue on 28th January 1283-84; and David, born in 1270, died in nonage. The Queen of Scotland having died on the 26th February 1274-75, the king married a second time in 1285, Joletta, daughter of the Count de Dreux; but there was no issue of this marriage, and all the children of the sovereign being now dead, there remained only the tender infant, Margaret of Norway, as heiress to the Scottish throne.

Perhaps the most remarkable event in the reign of Alexander III. was the invasion of the kingdom on its northern and western parts by Haco, King of Norway, in 1263. The Scottish army, under the command of the king and his general, Alexander Steuart, met and defeated the Norwegian troops in battle near Largs in Ayrshire; and almost the entire fleet of the Scandinavian monarch having been destroyed by a storm which arose on September 30th and lasted two days, Haco withdrew to Orkney, and died in the Bishop's Palace at Kirkwall on the 15th December 1263. A warm friendship, however, soon sprang up between the two countries. By a treaty concluded in July 1266, and for a money payment, the Sudreys or Western Isles

were annexed to Scotland. In 1281, as has been said, Eric, King of Norway, married Margaret, the daughter of the Scottish king. But disasters were at hand. In 1283, the Queen of Norway died, and her father, the Scottish king, riding on the evening of the 16th March 1285-86—a dark night—from Dunfermline to Kinghorn, where the queen then was, fell from his horse near the latter town, and was killed; thus leaving the infant Margaret as his only successor to the Scottish throne. Margaret, too, on her way to occupy the throne of her ancestors, and to gratify the eager wishes of the Scottish people by coming among them, died in Orkney in September 1290, in the seventh or eighth year of her age, and the fifth of her reign.

These sad events were followed by years of sorrow and disaster to Scotland. For nearly the remainder of the century the throne was vacant. John Baliol only began to reign on 17th November 1292, and he resigned the crown on 2d July 1296. Contending factions sprang up throughout the country. Edward I. of England, one of the ablest and most ambitious of monarchs, craftily endeavoured to destroy the independence of the kingdom. After years of negotiation war began, which, whilst it arrested

the growing prosperity of the kingdom, drew forth the splendid heroism of Wallace, the soldierly and kingly qualities of Bruce, and developed in the breasts of the Scottish people a resoluteness and daring which finally triumphed on the memorable field of Bannockburn (25th June 1314).

CHAPTER II.

General Aspect of the Country and the Church.

WHEN David de Bernham rose up to take the foremost place in the Church of his native land, the condition of things in Scotland was very different from what they are now. Six hundred years is a long interval in the life of a nation. Literature, art, science, politics, government, the general aspect of the country, the social and religious habits of the people, have all undergone vast and important changes during that time. In the middle of the thirteenth century the great continent of America was unknown to European States. Great Britain had not come into existence. England and Scotland were separate and independent kingdoms. The British colonies had not been acquired. The mariner's compass, gunpowder, and the deadly weapons of modern warfare, had not been discovered. Printing was unknown. Books were only in manuscript. The English language was

not yet fully formed. Literature, with few exceptions, was confined to the great remains of Greek and Roman genius. The Latin tongue was the language of the Church. Universities, schools, academies, courts of law, as now constituted—as far as Scotland was concerned—had not yet come into existence. The great battles of Bannockburn and Flodden had not been fought. Dante, Wickliffe, Luther, Knox, Shakespeare, Galileo, Newton, Scott, Burns, and other illustrious individuals, were only to be names of the future; whilst as regards the physical sciences and the applications of steam, magnetism, electricity, and their varied and marvellous forces to the necessities and uses of mankind—these were to be the discoveries of later ages, and indeed the most outstanding characteristics of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless the thirteenth century was one of great advancement and prosperity to Scotland. The race of kings which sprang from Malcolm and Margaret and their successors, and which, as far as the male line was concerned, terminated with the death of Alexander III., had all been men of great ability and energy. Consequently the country flourished during their respective reigns. When Alexander III. died, the kingdom of Scot-

land, with the exceptions of Orkney and Shetland, was coextensive with its present limits. Its natural features of mountain, forest, lake, and river, were perhaps more grand and imposing than they are now. The Celtic, Anglic, British, and Norman populations were being welded together into one harmonious whole. Burghs and towns were coming into existence. Roads were being formed where formerly only mere bridle-paths had been. Bridges were beginning to span the great rivers. Villages were springing up near mills, and other scenes of industry. Agriculture was progressing. Norman architecture and civilisation were penetrating into almost every corner of the land. The rivers abounded with fish. The great forests—the noble trees of many of which had not yet been levelled to the ground to meet the exigencies of agriculture and war—were filled with deer and other kinds of game. Horses, sheep, and cattle browsed upon the rich pastures. Money was becoming plentiful; and everywhere throughout the country there were signs of prosperity and comfort—a prosperity and comfort, however, that were to be rudely disturbed when, towards the close of the century, the throne was left vacant, and the War of Independence began.

As regards the *ecclesiastical* condition of Scot-

land in the thirteenth century, it is perhaps impossible now to form just and accurate conceptions. Great changes in the religious life and habits of the people, as well as in the doctrine, discipline, and government of the Church, have taken place since then; and yet such changes seem to be a natural law of all human existence. In David de Bernham's days the Columban Church had gone. The Culdee establishments were either wholly swept away, or about to be merged in that new order of things which Malcolm III. and Margaret, and the monarchs immediately descended from them, had helped to introduce. Monasticism was in the very greatness and plenitude of its power and influence. There was a magnificent Benedictine Monastery at Dunfermline, a Cistercian Abbey at Balmerino, a Priory of Canons-Regular of St Austin at St Andrews, another of Benedictines at Lindores, and several other religious houses of a more or less imposing character, all in the county of Fife. On the borders of Scotland there were the famous monasteries of Melrose, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh. In Renfrewshire there was a Clugniac Abbey at Paisley. In the county of Clackmannan there was an Abbey of Canons-Regular at Cambuskenneth; and in almost every

county of Scotland there were edifices of a more or less imposing description, giving abundant evidence of the existence of monastic and conventual religious life all throughout the land. King Edgar, in 1098, founded the large and beautiful Benedictine Priory of Coldingham, in Berwickshire, where formerly a Saxon nunnery had been. Alexander I. brought into existence the monastery of Aberbrothoc; whilst David, the youngest brother of the two preceding kings, in 1128, founded Holyrood, and many other religious establishments throughout the country. In this century, too, the great cathedral churches of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Moray, Aberdeen, Brechin, Galloway, Caithness, Ross, Orkney, and Argyle, were all in existence, although some of them were only partially completed.[1] In all probability, moreover, most of the ancient parish churches of Scotland had been erected, and some of them even now in Norman type, giving evidence of the great spread of Christianity, the interest taken in religion, and the power of the clergy to draw forth the aspirations as well as the liberality of the people.

[1] St Giles', Edinburgh, was only a collegiate church before the Reformation. It became a cathedral church when, in 1636, Charles I. created the Protestant Bishopric of Edinburgh, out of what was the ancient Archdeaconry of Lothian in the Diocese of St Andrews.

That, however, which chiefly distinguished the Church of the middle ages in Scotland from the Church of the later centuries, was the existence at the former period of great religious houses, and cells connected with them, where separate communities of individuals of both sexes lived either a cœnobitical, eremitical, or conventual life. This peculiar feature of Christianity—which may almost be said to be coeval with its rise, and which perhaps the early persecutions helped to introduce—was not, however, confined to Scotland. In almost all the countries of Europe and Asia during these times, there were to be found edifices of the stateliest and most imposing description, inhabited separately by men and women, who from the deepest feelings of devotion sought a home in these quiet and hallowed retreats. Nor were such persons, who thus voluntarily separated themselves from the businesses and pleasures of the world, the ignorant or inexperienced among mankind, those to whom life had become a burden and duty a pain. On the contrary, in many instances they were said to be the very flower of honourable manhood and womanhood. Ladies and gentlemen of rank and position, even in early youth, would forsake the companionship of friends, and renounce the

fascinations of worldly society, in order that they might give their days and nights to devotion, and to a more constant and uninterrupted fellowship with God, in preparation for an eternal world. The monarch would leave his throne, the baron his castle, the soldier the excitement of the camp, and the lady of rank the boasted charms of life, so that in these retired abodes they might carry out more effectively the rigid and self-denying precepts of the Saviour of the world. This was a marked and undoubted feature of Christianity in Scotland in the days of David de Bernham. These monasteries were homes of shelter, charity, and devotion, where the poor were attended to, and where even the solitary wanderer at midnight, guided by the monastery's light, would receive a kindly welcome, and be asked to take part in the prayers and praises that might then be rising to God. Not only so, but these religious houses were the seminaries of learning in the middle ages — where youth was instructed, where books were written, and manuscripts copied and preserved. They were, moreover, nurseries of industry, where agriculture was studied, and around which large tracts of waste land were brought into cultivation; and when, in addition to all this, it is remembered that

they were the principal missionary institutions of these ages, and that to them many of the parishes in Scotland owe their existence, we may reasonably come to the conclusion, that although, like all human institutions, they had their imperfections, yet they served important ends in their day.

CHAPTER III.

David de Bernham.

AMONG the comparatively scanty records of the thirteenth century it is impossible now to furnish anything like a detailed or complete biography of David de Bernham. There can be no doubt, however, from the high position which he occupied, and the offices which he filled, that he was one of the foremost, if not the very foremost man of his day. The diocese of St Andrews, of which he became bishop, was at this time, and for centuries before and after, the chief ecclesiastical district in Scotland. It was the recognised head of the other dioceses of the kingdom—the Canterbury of the country—and it extended territorially from the English border on the south-east to districts contiguous to Aberdeen in the north. The town of St Andrews itself, on the north-east of the county of Fife, was the great

centre of ecclesiastical power and influence in Scotland in the middle ages. By certain legends[1] associated with the Apostle Andrew, the place got its name from this disciple of Christ, and so deeply did he impress the mind of the people of Scotland, that he ultimately became patron saint of the entire kingdom, having his festival day on the 30th November. From the beginning of the tenth down to the sixteenth century St Andrews was the chief ecclesiastical place in the country. Many of the most striking events in Scottish history are associated with it. Its bishop was "*Maximus Episcopus Scottorum*," whilst in the days of Patrick Graham (A.D. 1471) it was made an archbishopric, and in those of the all-powerful but unfortunate David Beaton, Chancellor of the kingdom, it was raised to the lofty dignity of a cardinalate.

[1] For an account of these legends, see Skene, Celtic Scotland, vol. i. pp. 296, 297; Grierson's St Andrews, pp. 2-9; and Fordun's Scotichronicon, lib. ii. cap. 30. Grierson seems to make the date of St Regulus's arrival with the bones of St Andrew the 29th October 369 or 370; but Skene, on better authority, apparently (Tighernac), connects the Greek monk and the foundation of Kilrimont or St Andrews with the year 761, when Angus, son of Fergus, a sanguinary tyrant, was king of the Picts, with his capital at Abernethy. The land where the town stands was at that time called Muckross, or the land of boars—*muck*, in the Pictish language, signifying a boar, and *ross* a land or promontory.

David de Bernham was born about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, in the ancient town of Berwick-on-Tweed. Whether on the English or Scottish side of the classic river, it is now impossible to say. But, judging from the fact that he became connected with the Scottish Church, and remembering, moreover, that in this century the town on the north side of the Tweed belonged to Scotland, it may be inferred that he was born there, and that therefore he was a Scotchman.[1] He is said to have been descended from an ancient family of burgesses in Berwick; whilst in the Chartulary of the Priory of St Andrews "he is designed Camerarius Scotiæ," and is mentioned along with his brother, "*Robertus Bernham, Burgensis de Berwick*," who is probably the same person that was "major" (mayor) of the town in 1249.[2]

Bernham was evidently a patronymic—the sur-

[1] The town of Berwick-on-Tweed, on the Scottish side, seems to have oscillated for centuries between Scotland and England. It was burned in 1173 and again in 1216. It was taken from Scotland and annexed to England in 1333; annexed to Scotland in 1354, to England in 1355, to Scotland in 1378, to England in the same year. Scotland had it in 1384, England in 1385, and finally ceded in 1502. Cromwell took it in 1648, and General Monk on October 29th, 1659.—(Tegg's Dict. of Chron., p. 79.)

[2] Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 16.

name of the family—or probably at first the name of a property held by them in Berwickshire.[1] It is sometimes written Bernhame, and often Benham, without the "*de*" preceding it. Nothing is said in any ancient record of the place where the bishop received his early education; but judging from the fact that he was destined for the clerical profession, he would, no doubt, like others, be trained in one of the schools belonging to some of the great monasteries or priories of the kingdom, where he would give evidence of those great qualities that were soon to raise him to one of the highest positions in the country.

The first recorded appearance of David de Bernham in public is as an ecclesiastic—a subdeacon of the Church—attached to the Court of Alexander II. This monarch, as has already been indicated, ascended the throne of Scotland on the 4th December 1214, and David de Bernham ultimately became his Camerarius, or Chamberlain. In the Chartulary of Dunfermline Abbey (Regist. de Dunf., p. 64, c. No. 107) he appears along with others as a witness in a charter of Bishop William de Malvoisin, giving a grant of the teinds of the church of Kinglassin (Kinglassie

[1] Surnames were becoming common in England and Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

in Fife) to the church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline, and the monks serving God there. The signature takes the following form—viz.,

ꝏ̣ag̃ris ꝺꝺ de Bernham;

and the charter is dated at Dunfermline in the year 1234, and on the day of the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. Another charter (No. 116) appears in the same chartulary, regarding the church of "*Abercrumbi de Fif*," but whether it is by Bishop William or Bishop David is not stated. The next deed, however (No. 117), is by David de Bernham himself, he having at this time become Bishop of St Andrews; and in this charter he grants to the abbot and convent of Dunfermline the church of Kirkcaldy, with all its pertinents, they, the said abbot and convent, being held bound to provide vicars for the said church, and hospitality to the bishop himself. This deed is dated at "*Inchemurthoc VI.° Id. Nouembr*"—that is, the 8th November 1240 (Regist. de Dunf., p. 70), [Dal. Mon. Antiq., pp. 67, 68], (Hend. An., p. 76), and it is confirmed by a charter of the Prior and Canons of St Andrews, whose confirmation evidently was required (Regist. de Dunf., c. 118, p. 70). There is a document of the same kind, in the same

place, by which David de Bernham grants to the monks of Dunfermline the churches of Woolmet in Mid-Lothian, and Little Kinghorn in Fife ("*Wymet* [et] *de parua Kingorn*"), for charitable purposes; and this deed, which is duly sealed and attested by witnesses, is dated at "*Tinighā*," Tyningham in East Lothian, the 12th kalend of January—that is, the 21st December—1240. Keith, in a note in his 'Catalogue of Scottish Bishops' (p. 16) refers to a confirmation by Bishop David in the Chartulary of Paisley, dated in the year 1247, and the same writer (p. 396) has the following in connection with David de Bernham:—

"SCOTLAND-WELL, situate on the north side of the water of Leven, in the shire of Kinross, called in Latin *Fons Scotiæ*, was an hospital, first founded by William Malvoisine, Bishop of St Andrews, who died about the year 1238; which was afterwards bestowed upon the Red Friars by David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, his immediate successor. His charter is dated 'in Crastino Circumcisionis Domini, anno 1250.' The parish church of Moonzie, on the top of a hill to the south of Carny in Fife, in the Presbytery of Cupar, with the parish church of Carnock, in the Presbytery of Dunfermline, belonged to this place. This foundation and gift occasioned the

regular canons of St Andrews to complain to the Pope that the bishop had introduced the Red Friars into a parish belonging to them, 'eorundem prioris et capituli neglecto consensu'; whereupon we have a Bull of Pope Innocent IV., about the year 1250, for preventing such enterprises to the prejudices of the chapter of St Andrews. The ruins of the church and house are yet to be seen at the foot of the Bishop's Hill."

Walcott (Anc. Ch. of Scot., p. 351) says that David de Bernham founded the religious house of Scotland's Well on January 2, 1250, "on the site of a Culdee house," so that Bishop Malvoisin's foundation of a hospital seems to have come between the Culdee establishment and the house of the Red Friars. Walcott adds in the same place, that "it contained a famous spring, to which, amongst others, Robert Bruce resorted when afflicted by the terrible disease of leprosy in later life. The income was £102 in money, and the ministers held the churches of Carnock and Auchtermonsy [or Muchty]. The lands were given to David Arnot in 1591."

CHAPTER IV.

Election to the See of St Andrews.

BEFORE David de Bernham's day the See of St Andrews had been filled by a succession of great and accomplished men — Godric, who crowned King Edgar; Turgot, the confessor and biographer of Queen Margaret; Robert, founder of the Priory (1120); Arnold, founder of the Cathedral (1159); Roger, who built the Castle (1200); William de Malvoisin, and others. The last-named prelate died at the Palace of Inchmurtach (Inchmartin) on the 15th July 1237, and a few days afterwards his remains were interred in the New Church at St Andrews.[1]

[1] William de Malvoisin, who was Bishop of St Andrews for thirty-five years, is said to have been a man of great wisdom and courage. He was either a Frenchman, or spent much of his youth in France. He christened and crowned Alexander II.; founded the hospital of Loch Leven, called Scotland Well; attended a General Council in Rome in 1215, &c. Fordun (lib. vi. cap. 42) narrates the following amusing incident in William's life: "Abstulit a domo de Dunfermelyn, voluntarie ut dicitur, collationem vicariarum de Kinglassy et de Hales, quia quadam vice dum apud

David de Bernham, however, was not the person first thought of for the vacant See. In the Diocese of Dunkeld at that time there lived one Galfridus Liverance (al de Liberatione — viz., Captivorum), a monk of the order of Red Friars,[1] who had only two years before been settled as bishop of this diocese. He was evidently an able, lovable, and popular man; for on the vacancy occurring in St Andrews, the whole of the people interested apparently fixed upon Galfrid as the proper man to succeed William de Malvoisin. Not only so, but he was actually

Dunfermelyn per noctaret, defecit sibi potus vini ad collationem in camera sua, et hoc non ex defectu ministrorum monachorum, sed suorum, qui deliberato sibi ad sufficientiam minus caute expendendo, ante tempus consumpserunt." That is to say, he deprived the monastery of certain rights to two churches—namely, Kinglassie in Fife, and Hales or Colinton in Mid-Lothian—because he supposed the servants of the Abbey had drunk the wine intended for his supper, which his own servants had taken. This was before Dunfermline was created a mitred abbacy, which was not till 1244. —See also about William de Malvoisin, in Pinkerton's Hist. of Scot., vol. i. pp. xiv to xix.

[1] An order of monks, whose office was to redeem Christian captives from Turkish slavery. On 21st June 1209 they had six monasteries in Scotland — at the Reformation thirteen. Their houses were called hospitals or ministries; their superiors "ministri" or ministers, a name which has always been given to the Presbyterian clergy of Scotland. The *habit* of the Red Friars was white, with a red and blue cross patee upon their scapular. They held a chapter yearly at Whitsunday.—(See Keith's Spottiswoode, Rel. Ho., pp. 394-398; Walcott, An. Ch., pp. 348-351; Proc. of Soc. Antiq. of Scot., December 12, 1887.

postulated[1] to the vacant office—that is to say, he was unanimously elected by the Prior and Convent of St Andrews,[2] with whom at that time the power of electing apparently lay; and yet, notwithstanding this unanimity of choice and desire on the part of clergy and people alike to have Galfrid, the King (Alexander II.) interfered,[3] the proceedings were cancelled, a new writ was issued, and the Court favourite, David de Bernham, ultimately became Bishop of St Andrews. The following is Wynton's account of the matter (Oryg. Chron., vol. ii. p. 272, Skene):—

"And efftyre that this William was dede,
Thare postulyd was intil his sted,
Off Dunkeldyn the Byschape
Joffray. But till hym the Pape
Be na way grawnt wad hys gud will;
Bot leve the chanownys he gave till

---

[1] "A bishop is said to be *postulated* when he has been already in possession, or is only elect of another see. For the Canon Law supposes that a bishop is married to his diocese, and so cannot be elected into another. However, it allows a bishop already in possession, or only elected into a see, to be postulated by another, and that such bishop may be removed or translated to the other see; only the word *advanced* or *promoted* must not be used. [See Archbishop Chicheley's Life, p. 37.] Another sense of the word *postulation* is, when two-thirds of the votes do agree in the election." —(Keith, Cat. of Scot. Bish., p. 19.)

[2] In all probability the Culdees still occupied the convent, and took part in the election.

[3] Spottiswoode, lib. ii. p. 43; Keith, Cat. of Scot. Bish., p. 16.

Agayne to mak electyown,
And for to ches a gud person.
Then chesyd thai Dawy off Barname,
Ane honest clerk and off guid fame,
Chwmyrlane that time off Scotland;
That to the Pape wes welle lykand.
And in Scotland by byschapes thre
Confermyd and sacryde bathe wes he,
Off Glasgw, Brechyn, and Catenes;
This Dawy by theme mad byschape wes."

On the 1st October 1239, the following Bull was issued from Avignon by Gregory IX., making the appointment of David de Bernham.

"GREGORIUS EPISCOPUS, etc. Venerabilis fratribus . . . Glasguensi, . . . Cathanensi et . . . Brechenensi Epis., salutem, etc. Postulatione facta pridem de venerabili fratri nostro Dunkeldensi Epo. in vacante ecclesia Sancti Andree de Scotia, que ad nos nullo medio pertinet, non admissa, et dilectis filiis . . . Priori et Conventui eiusdem ecclesie a nobis iterum eligendi potestate concessa, ipsi, prius a carissimo in Christo filio nostro . . . Illustri Rege Scotie iuxta morem petita et obtenta eligendi licentia, vocatis omnibus, qui debebant et poterant evocari, prefixa electioni die, convenientes in unum vota sua in dictum Priorem et quatuor alios ex eisdem Canonicis contulerunt, qui pari voto et unanimi voluntate dilectum filium Magistrum David de

Bernham subdiaconem, Camerarium Regis eiusdem, virum utique genere nobilem, ornatum moribus et scientia, ac in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspectum, in suum Episcopum elegerunt. Nos quidem electionem ipsam, cui dictus Rex assensum suum prebuisse dicitur, examinari sicut convenit facientes, quia per Magistrum Riccardum Vairement canonicum secularem et procuratorem eiusdem ecclesie, uno canonicorum sublato de medio, et altero gravi infirmitate detento, qui propter hoc cum ipso Ric. ad presentiam nostram destinati fuerant, de premissis fieri non potuit plena fides, fraternati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus inquisita de modo electionis, studiis[que] eligentium, et electi meritis diligentius veritate, si electionem ipsam inveneritis de persona idonea canonice celebratam, ipsam auctoritate apostolica confirmantes, faciatis eidem electo obedientiam et reverentiam debitam exhiberi, ac munus consecrationis impendi, recepturi ab eo prius pro nobis et ecclesia Romana fidelitatis solite iuramentum iuxta formam, quam vobis sub bulla nostra mittimus interclusam. Forma autem iuramenti, quod ipse prestabit, de verbo ad verbum nobis per eiusdem patentes litteras suo sigillo signatas per proprium nuncium quantocius destinetis. Alioquin eadem electione rite cassata,

faciatis ipsi ecclesie de persona idonea per electionem canonicam provideri. Contradictores, etc. Quod si non omnes, etc. Datum Auagnie Kalendis Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio-decimo."—Theiner, Vetera Mon. Hib. et. Scot., p. 36. (Pont. Ec. S. And., pp. vi, vii.)

The following is a free translation :—

"Gregory, Bishop, &c. To the venerable brethren, the Bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin, health, &c. The postulation made some time ago of our venerable brother the Bishop of Dunkeld to the vacant Church of St Andrews, in Scotland, which pertains immediately to us, not being admitted, and the power of electing being again conceded by us to the beloved sons—the Prior and Convent of the same church — they themselves in the first instance, according to custom, having sought and obtained liberty to elect from our dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King of Scotland, all parties being called, who ought and could be called, the day of election having previously been fixed, being assembled together, they gave their votes to the said prior, and four other of the same canons, who, with equal vote and unanimity, of consent elected as their bishop the beloved son, Mr David Bernham, sub-deacon, chamberlain of the same king,

a man truly of noble family, distinguished in manners and learning, and circumspect both in spiritual and temporal concerns: Being indeed desirous that this election, to which the said king is said to have yielded his consent, should be scrutinised, as may be convenient, because through Mr Richard Vairement, secular canon and procurator of the same church,—one of the canons being taken away in the interval, and another detained through severe affliction, who on account of this business were with Richard himself commissioned to our presence, full confidence cannot be placed concerning the premisses, —we by apostolic writing command your brotherhood, that having inquired so far as to the manner of the election, and the learning of those electing, and more particularly concerning the truth as to the merits of the person elected, if ye shall find the election to be of a proper person canonically made—confirming it by apostolic authority, ye shall cause due obedience and reverence to be shown to the same elected person, and the ceremony of consecration to follow, the accustomed oath of fidelity first of all, however, to be received from him to us and the Roman Church, according to the form which we send to you enclosed under our Bull. And the form of oath, which he shall

swear, word for word, ye shall transmit to us by a proper messenger, as soon as possible, by his letters patent, signed under his seal. Otherwise the same form of election being lawfully cancelled, ye shall cause the church to be provided with a proper person, by an election canonically made. Opposers, &c., which if not all, &c. Given at Avignon, the 1st of October, in the thirteenth year of our Pontificate."

Now, it will be seen from the above document that Galfridus, Bishop of Dunkeld, was actually elected to the vacant bishopric of St Andrews, for that is virtually implied in the term "postulation"; but nothing is said as to the source from whence the opposition to him proceeded. It might have been the Pontiff who was opposed to Galfridus, but in all probability it was the king, who wished to get his "Camerarius" promoted. The monarch, however, was met by the great popularity of the Bishop of Dunkeld, and before anything could be done in the way of helping David de Bernham to the vacant office, the Prior and Convent of St Andrews had made choice of Galfridus, their favourite ecclesiastic. Means, however, were found of setting the election aside. All that is said in regard to this in the above rescript is the expression "*non admissa*";

and now, having obtained permission from Rome, as well as the assent of the Scottish sovereign, the Prior and Convent proceed to make a new election, and this time they fix upon the person, who was evidently the Court favourite—namely, David de Bernham.

It will be noticed, also, that in the above Bull the Pontiff makes the assertion that the See of St Andrews belongs immediately to him—"*que ad nos nullo medio pertinet*"—thus showing the bold and pretentious character of the Roman See in regard to Scottish ecclesiastical affairs at that time. After the new election had been made, certain parties from St Andrews were evidently deputed to go to Avignon with the information, and to obtain the necessary powers for the consecration of the new bishop. One of the canons, however, who had been so deputed, had in the meantime evidently been removed by death —"*uno canonicorum sublato de medio;*" and another was laid up by affliction—"*et altero gravi infirmitate detento;*" so that the only person, apparently, who presents himself before the Pontiff in regard to this business, is Mr Richard Vairement, secular canon and procurator of the Church of St Andrews. This person was evidently one of the most able and conspicuous

ecclesiastics in the town of St Andrews at that time. If we are to believe the statements of recent inquirers into early Scottish history, Ricardus Veremundus or Vairement was by birth a Spaniard, and one of the very earliest —if not, indeed, the earliest—of Scottish historians. In the Harleian MS. (4628) there is said to be a list of the contents of the Great Register of the Priory of St Andrews, which, according to Sir James Dalrymple, has been missing since the year 1660, and which is believed to be lost. In this list there is the following entry, viz. :—

"17. Historia originis Scotorum ex Egypto ad Hispaniam, in Hiberniam, breviter inde in Britanniam, fol. 57,"—the document itself extending to 41 pages.

Now this 'Historia,' from which Fordun evidently obtained the materials for the early and fabulous part of his 'Scotichronicon,' is believed to have been written by this Richard Vairement, who thus in this way gave a colour to a great part of Scottish history which it does not actually possess. Not only so, but Richard—who seemed also to belong to the community of the remaining Culdees who were still at St Andrews, for he is styled "Keledeus" in another document—is also

charged with being the forger of certain letters patent said to have been granted by William the Lion to the Earl of Mar about that period; so that this procurator of the Church of St Andrews in the thirteenth century must have been a many-sided individual, a person of considerable ability and great versatility of character—indeed, one of the foremost of churchmen, and most prominent among the few literary men of that period. (See Skene's Preface to Fordun, vol. i. pp. xxxv to xl, also Note, pp. xxxviii, xxxix; and Celtic Scotland, vol. iii., Appendix, pp. 441-447.)

When Richard, however, appeared at Avignon, GREGORY IX. was evidently not satisfied with the account of the proceedings reported from St Andrews, and so he issues his Bull to the Bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin (William, Gilbert, and Gregory respectively[1]), requiring them to make strict inquiry into the matter, and go through the other necessary forms; and they having done so, and being satisfied evidently with all that had taken place, that everything was done in due form, the same prelates, according to instructions, consecrated David de Bern-

[1] Keith and Spottiswoode erroneously put Clement, Bishop of Dunblane, among the consecrators, instead of the Bishop of Brechin.

ham in the Cathedral Church of St Andrews on St Vincent's Day (22d January), 1239-40.[1]

To sum up: the election of David de Bernham is said to have taken place at St Andrews in June 1239. The Papal Bull is dated 1st October of the same year; and the consecration took place on 22d January 1239-40.

[1] The year at that time commenced in March; so that, although it was A.D. 1240 according to our reckoning, it was A.D. 1239 to the people of the thirteenth century.

Geoffrey or Eulfrid, the popular Bishop of Dunkeld, is said to have died at Tibbermuir in Perthshire on 22d November 1249. His body was buried at Dunkeld (Walcott, Anc. Ch., p. 212).

CHAPTER V.

Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, and the Church.

ALMOST the first important matter to which David de Bernham had to turn his attention on being created Bishop of St Andrews, was the great controversy that was then raging between Pope Gregory IX. and Frederick II., Emperor of Germany.[1] The quarrel, however, between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, began before this. For it commenced as soon as Frederick entered upon public life, and it did not terminate until he was laid in his grave. It was a controversy, therefore, not with one, but with a succession of celebrated Pontiffs, and these often

[1] "At the head of all the enemies of Christianity," says Mosheim, (Church Hist., Part I., chap. ii. sect. 3, p. 437), "stood the Emperor Frederick II., if credit is to be given to the sovereign Pontiff Gregory IX., who in the year 1239 charged him before all the kings and princes of Europe with" the language of blasphemy. "This heavy charge the Emperor deemed it necessary to refute by a public profession of his religious faith."

in alliance with the Lombard cities of Italy and other enemies of the Emperor. Frederick was again and again excommunicated. But no decree or censure of the Church had the least effect upon his dauntless spirit; and although at last he had to give way, yet it was perhaps rather from the increasing difficulties of his reign—caused by the different nationalities over which he held sway, and with which he had often to contend—than from the power and weapons of the Church.

The German Empire at this time—that is, in the thirteenth century—was the dominant power in Europe. It occupied the proud place which Imperial Rome had once held, and which was subsequently occupied by a succession of Frankish monarchs. Although in the tenth and eleventh centuries it was in the zenith of its greatness, yet in the days of Frederick I. (Barbarossa), grandfather of Frederick II., it was without a rival among European States. Not only did it embrace the various nationalities of Germany, but it included within its far-reaching sovereignty Naples, Sicily, and other important portions of Italy. Frederick II. was one of the greatest of German monarchs. Indeed no more conspicuous figure appears on the page of history during the middle ages than this illustrious

man. As a sovereign, a statesman, a scholar, and a military commander, he was unsurpassed by any of the other great men of these times. He knew Latin, Greek, French, German, Arabic, and Hebrew—took the greatest interest in architecture—fostered the infancy of Italian sculpture and painting—restored or founded universities and medical schools—was the generous patron of learning, and the patron and friend of literary men.

This celebrated monarch was born at Seri, near Ancona, on the 26th December 1194, and elected King of the Romans in 1196. He was the son of Henry VI., Emperor of Germany, by Constance, daughter and heiress of William II., King of Sicily. Henry died in 1197, and Constance in 1198, leaving Frederick, a child of only some four years of age, under the guardianship of the then reigning Pontiff, Innocent III. The young sovereign was well brought up, and an early friendship was formed between him and the head of the Church. But it did not long survive after the former grew up to manhood's years. Frederick had to fight his way to the throne of his ancestors; and as his mental faculties developed, and the stern duties and great responsibilities of his high position became more discernible, he felt

himself compelled to differ from the sentiments and wishes of the sovereign Pontiff; so that he who commenced life in warm friendship with the Church, soon became its bitterest foe. Innocent III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., and—passing over the short Pontificate of Celestinus IV.—Innocent IV., were all the enemies of Frederick, whom they regarded as the great foe to Christianity. But the independent mind, the great genius, the vast resources of the Emperor, enabled him to overcome all opposition, and for long to baffle the skill and evade the strategies of all his adversaries.

In 1239, Gregory IX. excommunicated Frederick, and in the following year, 1240, he summoned a General Council to meet at Rome, with the view of hurling the Emperor from the throne. To this council two Scottish bishops, David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, and William de Bondington, Bishop of Glasgow, were summoned;[1]

[1] It is evident that the Bishop of Glasgow who accompanied Bishop de Bernham to the General Council at Rome which was called by Pope Gregory IX. in 1240, was William de Bondington, a native of Berwickshire, and formerly rector of [Edelstone] Eddleston, in Peeblesshire. The bishop previously held various offices under Alexander II., was elected Bishop of Glasgow in 1232, "and consecrated in the Cathedral Church by Andrew, Bishop of Moray. Dominica post nativitatem beatæ Mariæ, anno Dom. 1233 [Melros]." This bishop finished the Cathedral Church of

and these prelates were far on their way, when Frederick, marshalling his forces, advanced into the States of the Church, captured Ravenna, and other important towns in Italy. Not only so, but learning that the Genoese fleet had been put at the service of the Pope, and that it was being made use of to convey many of the prelates of Christendom by sea to Rome, he, aided by his natural son Enzio, King of Sardinia in 1241, gained a brilliant victory over this fleet, captured it, and having the bishops in his power, threw them into prison. David de Bernham and William de Bondington were no doubt among the prisoners. But the Emperor, not willing to increase the Church's animosity, released them on condition that they would return to their homes. They gave this promise, but sent on their procurations by some ecclesiastic to Rome.[1] The two Scottish bishops, along with their brother prelates, being thus dismissed, Frederick proceeded to deal still more vigorously with Gregory; and having

Glasgow out of his own liberality, and in the last year of his life introduced into his diocese the use of the liturgical form of the Church of Sarum or Salisbury. Some say he died in 1257, others in 1283. He was interred in the Abbey Church of Melrose, near the high altar (Keith, Cat. of Scot. Bishops, pp. 238, 239).

[1] Mosh., Cent. XIII., Part II., chap. ii. sec. 10; and Spottiswoode, lib. ii. pp. 43, 44. Lond., 1655.

started on the march to Rome, he was nearing the Imperial city, when the news reached him that Gregory IX. was dead. The council, therefore, was never held.

After Gregory's death Celestinus only occupied the Papal Chair for two years. He was succeeded by Innocent IV.—a man of great determination. This Pontiff escaped to Lyons in France, summoned a General Council there, and on the 17th July 1245 excommunicated Frederick, and declared his throne vacant. On the 18th February 1248, Frederick's army was defeated in battle, and other disasters coming upon him, this "Stupor Mundi," as he has been called, died somewhat suddenly at his hunting-lodge, near Lucera, on the 13th December following, leaving the vast Empire which he had ruled with such ability in confusion.

The *Chronica de Mailros* says that the captivity of the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow took place in 1245. This would rather seem to point to the council of Innocent IV. at Lyons on 17th July 1245. But Mosheim and Spottiswoode, above referred to, indicate the council of Gregory at Rome summoned in 1240.

CHAPTER VI.

The "Pontificale," or Book of Ceremonies, with List of Dedications.

IN the summer of the year 1240, David de Bernham, as Bishop of St Andrews, commenced the *dedication* or *consecration* of those churches in Scotland, the only *record* of which is contained in the Pontifical now lying in the National Library of France.

Of the history and vicissitudes of this interesting and valuable thirteenth-century Scottish manuscript, it is now impossible to give full details. The attention of British scholars was first called to it by M. Leopold Delisle, Administrateur-Général of the National Library of France. According to M. Delisle, this Service Book of the ancient Church of Scotland was probably in the chapel of the French king somewhere about the fifteenth century. In the year 1712 it was seen by two Benedictines, "dom Martene et dom Durand," in the Theological

Seminary (Séminaire), or Priests' College of Chalons-sur-Marne. In 1740 it was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, along with the manuscripts of Maréchal de Noailles; and in that celebrated library it is now preserved, catalogued, however, erroneously as "Pontificale Anglicanum" instead of *Pontificale Scoticanum*, and is numbered "1218 fonds Latin." It is said to be a small quarto, well and correctly written in a clear thirteenth-century hand, and with musical notation; and consists of "142 folios, vellum, each measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height." Each page has thirteen lines, and the offices contained in it are those for the consecration of a church, an altar, a cemetery or burying-ground, and for the reconciliation of a church; and one such church is mentioned as having been so "reconciled"—namely, that of the Holy Trinity at Berwick, "*post effusionem sanguinis*," as the result of a deadly quarrel there between two "scolocs," "scologs," or "*Clerici Scholares*." On the second and third folios of this ancient book of ceremonies there is the record of the dedication of many churches and chapels in the diocese of St Andrews in Scotland, for which the volume was used—in the case of 140 of these churches—by Bishop David de Bernham,

during the years 1240-1249; and in the case of two, by Bishop William Wishart in the year 1276. (Pont. Eccl. S. And., pp. ii, iii, iv, vi.)

The Pontifical itself ("Pontificale Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ") was published at Edinburgh (Pitsligo Press) in 1885, under the editorship of Chr. Wordsworth, M.A., Rector of Glaston, and contains the list of churches above referred to. The identification of many of these with the names of the saints is due to the research of the Rev. Dr James Gammack, formerly of Drumlithie, now of Aberdeen. "*Listun*" and "*Eglemanechy*" are evidently, however, churches in Linlithgowshire, not in Forfarshire. This list of churches was first printed in Scotland by Dr Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, on 26th June 1866, in the Appendix to the Preface of the 'Concilia Scotiæ' (Tomus Primus, pp. ccxcviii-cccii), who received it from the Episcopal Bishop of Brechin. It is right to add, in conclusion, that much credit is due to the Rev. Walter Bell for the publication of the Pontifical itself.

LIST OF DEDICATIONS

The following list is taken from the "Pontificale":—

Hee sunt ecclesie quas dedicavit ep̄c. Dauid.

(1) ¶ Eccliā de Lessewade dedicata fuit anno gracie M°cc°xl°, ij° Non. Maij.
(2) Ec̄ca. fratrum predicatorum de pert, eodem anno, iij. id. Maij.
(3) Eccl. sc̄i. Nicholai de Berewych̄, eodem anno, viij. id. Julij.

(4) Eccl. de Kirketuñ. Anno etc. xlj°, xvij. Kal. Septemb.
(5) Eccl. de Mertuñ juxta drib̄gh.

(6) Eccl. de Yestrith̄.

(7) Eccl. de Lintuñ.

(8) Eccl. de Fertheuiet.

(9) Eccl. de Kinettles. Anno eodem, iij. id. Novembr.
(10) Eccl. de Calledouere Com̄. Anno eodem ij. id. Martij.
(11) Eccl. sc̄i. Cuthberti de edeneburgh. sub castro. Anno eodem, xvij. Kal. April.
(12) Eccl. de Childenechirch. Anno eodem x. Kal. April.

List with Explanations.

These are the Churches which Bishop David dedicated:—

A.D. 1240.

(1) St Edwin's Church, Lasswade, was dedicated in the year of grace, &c., . . 6th May.

(2) Church of the Preaching Friars of Perth, 13th May.

(3) St Nicholas' Church, Berwick, . . 8th July.

A.D. 1241.

(4) Church of Kirkton, now St Ninian's, Stirlingshire, ... 16th Aug.

(5) Church of Mertoun, Berwickshire, near to Dryburgh, . . No month or day mentioned.

(6) St Cuthbert's Church, Yester, in Gifford, Haddingtonshire, No month or day mentioned.

(7) St Baldred's Church, Linton, Haddingtonshire, . . . No month or day mentioned.

(8) Church of Forteviot, Perthshire, No month or day mentioned.

(9) Church of Kinnettles, Forfarshire, . 11th Nov.

10) St Cuthbert's Church, Mid-Calder, Mid-Lothian, ... 14th Mar.

(11) St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, under the Castle, ... 16th Mar.

(12) Holy Innocents' Church, Channelkirk, Berwickshire, ... 23d Mar.

(13) Eccl. de Gorduñ. Anno etc. xlij° v. Kal. April.

(14) Eccl. de Stichill. Anno eodem, iij° Kal. April.

(15) Capella domini W. fil. coñ. apud Foggho. Anno eodem, iiij° non. April.
(16) Eccl. de Grenlawe. Anno eodem, ij. non. April.
(17) Eccl. de Langetuñ, eodem anno, viij° id. April.
(18) Eccl. de Poulwurtħ, eodem anno, vij. id. April.

(19) Eccl. de Cherneside, eodem anno, iiij. id. April.
(20) Eccl. sc̃e. Trinitatis de Berewycħ reconciliata post effusionem sanguinis, in eodem anno xvij. Kal. Maij.
(21) Eccl. de Baruwe, eodem anno, viij. Kal. Maij.

(22) Eccl. de Penkathland, eodem anno, Kal. Maij.

(23) Eccl. de Kokepen, eodem anno, iiij. Non. Maij.
(24) Eccl. de Linlethcu, anno eodem xj. Kal. Junij.

(25) Eccl. de Culas prope Pert, anno eodem pridie Non. Junij.
(26) Eccl. que vocatur Varia capella, eodem anno pridie Id. Junij.
(27) Eccl. de Strachyn, eodem anno xvj. Kal. Julij.

(28) Eccl. de Nig ultra lemonetħ, anno eodem tercio Kal. Augusti.
(29) Eccl. de Aberbuthenoth, anno eodem.

(30) Eccl. de Kineff, eodem anno Non. Augusti.

A.D. 1242.

(13) St Michael's Church, Gordon, Berwickshire, ... 28th Mar.
(14) St Nicholas' Church, Stitchell, Roxburghshire, ... 30th Mar.
(15) Chapel of Lord W. son of Con. Fogo, Berwickshire, ... 2d April.
(16) Church of Greenlaw, Berwickshire, . 4th April.
(17) Church of Langton, Berwickshire, . 6th April.
(18) St Kentigern's Church, Polwarth, Berwickshire, ... 7th April.
(19) Church of Chirnside, Berwickshire, . 10th April.
(20) Church of the Holy Trinity, Berwick, reconciled after the shedding of blood, 15th April.

(21) Church of Baro in Garvald, Haddingtonshire, ... 24th April.
(22) Church of Pencaitland, Haddingtonshire, ... 1st May.
(23) Church of Cockpen, Mid-Lothian, . 4th May.
(24) Church of St Michael (the Archangel), Linlithgow, ... 22d May.
(25) Church of Collace, near Perth, S. Ucan, 4th June.

(26) Church of Falkirk, "*Eccl. que vocatur varia capella,*" . . . . . 12th June.
(27) Church of Strachan, Kincardineshire, B.V.M., ... 16th June.
(28) Church of Nigg, "beyond the month," St Fontinus, Bp., Kincardineshire, . 30th July.
(29) St Ternan's Church, Arbuthnott, Kincardineshire, . . No month or day mentioned.
(30) St Arnold's Church, Kinneff, Kincardineshire, ... 5th Aug.

(31) Eccl. de Egglesgercħ, eodem anno vij. id. Augusti.

(32) Eccl. de Aberluthenoth, eodem anno, v. idus Augusti.

(33) Eccl. de Tanetheys, eodem anno, iij. idus Augusti.

(34) ¶ Eccl. de Inuerculethere, eodem anno, xvj. Kal. Septembr.
(35) Eccl. sc̃i. Vigiani de Aberbrotħ, eodem anno, xiiij. Kal. Septembr.
(36) Eccl. de Aberlimenacħ, eodem anno, xij. Kal. Septembr.
(37) Eccl. de Forfare, eodem anno, x. Kal. Septembr.
(38) Eccl. de Glamnes, eodem anno, viij. Kal. Septembr.
(39) Eccl. de Erolyn, eodem anno, vj. Kal. Septembr.
(40) Eccl. de Newetyl, eodem anno, iiij^{to} Kal. Septembr.
(41) Eccl. de Fugeles, ij. Kal. Septembr. et eodem anno.

(42) ¶ Eccl. de Perthħ, eodem anno, Non. Septembr.
(43) Eccl. de ebedyn, eodem anno, Non. Septembr.
(44) Eccl. de Flisc̃h, eodem anno, vij. Id. Sept.

(45) ¶ Eccl. de Wymetħ, iiij. Non. Octobris, et eodem anno.
(46) Eccl. de Seethuñ, eodem anno, ij. Non. Octobris.
(47) Eccl. de Golyn, eodem anno, viij. Id. Oct.

(31)	St Cyrus' Church[1] (Cyricus), Ecclesgreig, Kincardineshire, . . .	7th Aug.
(32)	Church of Marykirk, B.V.M., Kincardineshire, ...	9th Aug.
(33)	St Arnold's Church, Tannadice, Forfarshire, ...	11th Aug.
(34)	Church of Inverkeilor (St Macconoc), Forfarshire, ...	17th Aug.
(35)	St Vigean's Church, Arbroath, Forfarshire, ...	19th Aug.
(36)	Church of Aberlemno, Forfarshire, .	21st Aug.
(37)	St James' Church, Forfar, Forfarshire,	23d Aug.
(38)	St Fergus' Church, Glamis, Forfarshire,	25th Aug.
(39)	St Medan's Church, Airlie, Forfarshire,	27th Aug.
(40)	Church of Newtyle, Forfarshire, . .	29th Aug.
(41)	St Mernan's Church, Fowlis Easter, (with Lundie), Perthshire, . .	31st Aug.
(42)	Church of St John the Baptist, Perth,	5th Sept.
(43)	Church of Abdie, Fifeshire, . . .	5th Sept.
(44)	Church of Flisk, St Macgridan or St Adrian, Fifeshire, ...	7th Sept.
(45)	Church of Woolmet in Newton, Mid-Lothian, ...	4th Oct.
(46)	Church of Seaton, Haddingtonshire, .	6th Oct.
(47)	St Andrew's Church, Gullane, Haddingtonshire, ...	8th Oct.

[1] Nine dedications marked with an asterisk in Bishop de Bernham's list are also mentioned in the *Regist. Prior. S. Andreæ*, p. 348. These are St Cyrus, Linlithgow, Fowlis Easter, Scoonie, St Andrews, Markinch, Portmoak, Rossie in Inchture, and Lathrisk. Where two saints are mentioned, probably the saint of Catholic fame was given at the dedication, and the name of the old Celtic saint retained.

(48) Eccl. monialium conuentual. de Northbewychħ, eodem anno, vj. Id. Octobris.

(49) Eccl. de Inuerwychħ, eodem anno, xvj. Kal. Novembr.

(50) Eccl. de Aldhamstochħ, eodem anno, xiiij. Kal. Novembr.

(51) Eccl. de Leiardewde, eodem anno, iij. Kal. Novembr.

(52) ¶ Eccl. de Wedal, eodem anno, iij. Non. Novembr.

(53) Eccl. de Erselduñ, eodem anno, xiij. Kal. April.

(54) ¶ Eccl. de Kalcho, anno etc. xliij°, vj. Kal. April.

(55) Eccl. de Fogeho, eodem anno, iiij° Kal. April.

(56) Eccl. de Leinhaħ, eodem anno, ij° Kal. April.

(57) Eccl. de Hiltuñ, eodem anno, iiij. Nonas Aprilis.

(58) Eccl. de Woruerdeñ, eodem anno, ij° Non. Aprilis.

(59) Eccl. de Hotuñ, eodem anno, viij. Idus Aprilis.

(60) Eccl. de Aldhã, ix. Kal. Maij, eodem anno.

(61) Eccl. de Smalhã, iij. Kal. Maij, eodem anno.

(62) Eccl. de Kerintuñ, eodem anno, vj. Non. Maij.

(63) Eccl. de Rathewe, eodem anno, iij. Non. Maij.

(64) Eccl. de Karreden, eodem anno, Non. Maij.

(65) Eccl. de Ertħ, vj. Id. Maij, eodem anno.

(66) Eccl. de magna Kingorn, eodem anno, xvj. Kal. Junij.

(48)	Conventual Church of North Berwick, Nuns of Monastery of S. Mary, Haddingtonshire, ...	10th Oct.
(49)	Church of St Michael (the Archangel), Innerwick, Haddingtonshire, . .	17th Oct.
(50)	Church of Oldhamstocks, Haddingtonshire, ...	19th Oct.
(51)	Church of Legerwood, Berwickshire, .	30th Oct.
(52)	Church of Wedale, Stow, B.V. Mary, Mid-Lothian, ...	3d Nov.
(53)	Church of Earlston, Berwickshire, .	20th Mar.

A.D. 1243.

(54)	Church of Kelso, B.V.M. and S. John, Roxburghshire, ...	27th Mar.
(55)	Church of Fogo, Berwickshire, . .	29th Mar.
(56)	Church of Lennel, Coldstream, Berwickshire, ...	31st Mar.
(57)	Church of Hilton, Whitsome, Berwickshire, ...	2d April.
(58)	Church of Horndean, Ladykirk, Berwickshire, ...	4th April.
(59)	Church of Hutton, Berwickshire, .	6th April.
(60)	Church of Aldham, St Baldred's, Haddingtonshire, ...	23d April.
(61)	Church of Smailholm, Roxburghshire, .	29th April.
(62)	Church of Carrington, Mid-Lothian, .	2d May.
(63)	Church of Ratho, B.V.M., Mid-Lothian,	5th May.
(64)	Church of Carriden, Linlithgowshire, .	7th May.
(65)	Church of Airth, Stirlingshire, . .	10th May.
(66)	Church of Kinghorn, Fifeshire, . .	17th May.

(67) Eccl. de parua Kingorn, xiiij. Kal. Junij, eodem anno.

(68) Eccl. de Kinglassyn, eodem anno, vj. Kal. Junij.

(69) Eccl. de Sconyn, eodem anno, iij. Kal. Junij.

(70) Eccl. parrochialis sc̃i. Andree, eodem anno, xv. Kal. Julij.
(71) Eccl. de Kellyn, eodem anno, xiij. Kal. Julij.
(72) Eccl. de Karal, xj. Kal. Julij, eodem anno.

(73) Eccl. de Kilretheny, eodem anno, vj. Kal. Julij.

(74) Eccl. de Eynstrother, eodem anno, iiij. Kal. Julij.

(75) Eccl. de Kilcunewath̃, eodem anno, iiij. Id. Julij.

(76) Eccl. de Nithbren, eodem anno, idus Julij.
(77) Eccl. de largath̃, eodem anno, xvj. Kal. Augusti.
(78) Eccl. de Markin g̃, eodem anno, xiiij. Kal. Augusti.

(79) Eccl. de porthmooch̃, eodem anno, x. Kal. Augusti.

(80) ¶ Eccl. de Kilgoueryn, eodem anno, vij. Kal. Augusti.

(81) Eccl. de losserech̃, eodem anno, v. Kal. Augusti.

(82) Eccl. de callesyn, eodem anno, iij. Kal. Augusti.
(83) Eccl. de deruesyn, eodem anno, iiij. Non. Augusti.

(84) Eccl. de Cuilte, eodem anno, vj. Id. Augusti.
(85) Eccl. de Eroł, eodem anno, v. idus Augusti.

(67) Church of Kinghorn ("*Parua Kingorn*"), Fifeshire, Kirkton, Burntisland, St Serf's, ... 19th May.
(68) Church of Kinglassie, St Glascianus', Fifeshire, ... 27th May.
(69) Church of Scoonie, St Memma V., Fifeshire, ... 30th May.
(70) St Andrews Parochial Church, Holy Trinity, Fifeshire, ... 17th June.
(71) Church of Kelly, Carnbee, Fifeshire, . 19th June.
(72) Church of Crail, St Maelrubha, Fifeshire, ... 21st June.
(73) Church of Kilrenny, St Ethernanus, Fifeshire, ... 26th June.
(74) Church of Anstruther, St Adrian's, Fifeshire, ... 28th June.
(75) Church of Kilconquhar, St Monan's, Fifeshire, ... 12th July.
(76) Church of Newburn, Fifeshire, . . 15th July.
(77) Church of Largo, Fifeshire, . . . 17th July.
(78) Church of Markinch, St John Baptist and St Modrust, Fifeshire, . . 19th July.
(79) Church of Portmoak, St Stephen's and St Moan's, Kinross-shire, . . . 23d July.
(80) Church of Kilgowrie, Kilgorn, Falkland, Fifeshire, ... 26th July.
(81) Church of Lathrisk, St John Evan. and St Athernisc, Fifeshire, . . . 28th July.
(82) Church of Collessie, Fifeshire, . . 30th July.
(83) Church of Dairsie, B.V. Mary, Fifeshire, ... 2d Aug.
(84) Church of Cults, ... 8th Aug.
(85) Church of Errol, Perthshire, . . 9th Aug.

(86) Eccl. de Inchethor, eodem anno, iij. id. Augusti.
(87) Eccl. de Ŕossincleracħ, eodem anno, Id. Augusti.

(88) ¶ Eccl. de Barri, eodem anno, xv. Kal. Septembr.
(89) Eccl. de Inchebriocħ, eodem anno, x. Kal. Septembr.

(90) Eccl. de login cuthel, eodem anno, viij. Kal. Septembr.
(91) Eccl. de Aldebarr̃, eodem anno, vj. Kal. Septembr.
(92) Eccl. de Rustinoth, eodem anno, iij. Kal. Septembr.

(93) ¶ Eccl. de Edvin, eodem anno, Kal. Septembris.
(94) Eccl. de Mathynlur, eodem anno, iij. Non. Septembris.
(95) Eccl. de Inverarethin, eodem anno, viij. Id. Septembr.
(96) Eccl. de Baneuyn, v. Id. Septembr. eodem anno.
(97) Eccl. de Logyndũđ, eodem anno, iij. Id. Septembr.
(98) Eccl. de Blare, eodem anno, Id. Septembr.
(99) Eccl. de Vrchardereth, eodem anno, v. Kal. Octobr.
(100) ·C·[1] Eccl. de Leuingest, eodem anno, ij. Kal. Octobris.

(101) ¶ Eccl. sc̃i. Egidii de edenbg̃h, eodem anno, ij. Non. Octobr.
(102) Eccl. de Ellum, eodem anno, v. idus Martij.

(103) ¶ Eccl. de Elftanefford, anñ. &c. xliiij^{to} vij. id. April.

(104) Eccl. de Trauernent, eodem anno, iij. Idus April.

[1] The ·C· marks the 100th entry in the list. What follows is in a different hand.

(86) Church of Inchture, Perthshire, . 11th Aug.
(87) Church of Rossie, Inchture, St Laurence M. and St Coman C., Perthshire, 13th Aug.
(88) Church of Barry, Forfarshire, . . 18th Aug.
(89) Church of Craig, St Braoch's, Forfarshire, ... 23d Aug.
(90) Church of Logie, St Martin's, Forfarshire, ... 25th Aug.
(91) Church of Aldbar, Forfarshire, . . 27th Aug.
(92) Church of Restennet, St Peter's, Forfarshire, ... 30th Aug.
(93) Church of Kirkden, Idvies, Evies, St Ruffus, Forfarshire, . . . 1st Sept.
(94) Church of Meithie-lour, Forfarshire, . 3d Sept.
(95) Church of Inverarity, St Monan's, Forfarshire, ... 6th Sept.
(96) Church of Benvie, Forfarshire, . . 9th Sept.
(97) Church of Lochee, Forfarshire, . . 11th Sept.
(98) Church of Blairgowrie, Perthshire, . 13th Sept.
(99) Church of Auchterderran, Fifeshire, . 27th Sept.
(100) Church of Livingstone, Linlithgowshire, ... 30th Sept.
(101) St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, . . 6th Oct.

(102) Church of Longformacus, Berwickshire, ... 11th Mar.

A.D. 1244.

(103) Church of Athelstaneford, Haddingtonshire, ... 7th April.
(104) Church of Tranent, Haddingtonshire, 11th April.

(105) Eccl. de cranestuñ, eodem anno, xv. Kal. Maij.
(106) Eccl. de Saultune, eodem anno, xj. Kal. Maij.
(107) Eccl. fratrum minorum de Berewicħ, eodem anno, pridie Non. Maij.
(108) Eccl. de Inuerkethyn, eodem anno, vij. Kal. Sept.
(109) Eccl. de Locres, eodem anno, ij. Non. Sept.

(110) Eccl. de Kenebacħ, eodem anno, viij. Id. Septembr.
(111) Eccl. de Listuñ, eodem anno, iij. Idus Septembr.

(112) Eccl. de Eglemanechỹ, eodem anno, Id. Septembr.

(113) Eccl. de Boltuñ, eodem anno, xiiij. Kal. Octobr.
(114) Eccl. hospitał de fonte scoꞇ, eodem anno, vj. Non. Octobr.
(115) Eccl. de Fordune, eodem anno, xvj. Kal. Novembr.

(116) Eccl. de Cuneuetħ, eodem anno, xiiij. Kal. Novembr.

(117) Eccl. de Heriet, eodem anno, ij. Non. Martij.
(118) Eccl. de Morham, eodem anno, vij. Id. Martij.
(119) Eccl. de Kirkaldin, eodem anno, xij. Kal. Aprilis.

(120) ¶ Ecclia de Disartħ, anno &c. xlv^{to} vij. Kal. Aprilis.
(121) Eccl. de Methkal, eodem anno, v^{to} Kal. Aprilis.

(122) Eccl. de Vchermukedi, eodem anno, ij. Kal. Aprilis.

(123) Eccl. de tharvet, eodem anno, iij. Non. Aprilis.
(124) Eccl. de Vchthermunesin, eodem anno, Non. Aprilis.
(125) Eccl. de Wytingehã, eodem anno, Non. Maij.

(105) Church of Cranstoun, Mid-Lothian, . 17th April.
(106) Church of Salton, Haddingtonshire, . 21st April.
(107) Church of the Minorite Brothers of Berwick, ... 6th May.
(108) Church of Inverkeithing, Fifeshire, . 26th Aug.
(109) Church of Leuchars (S. Athernisc), Fifeshire, ... 4th Sept.
(110) Church of Kemback, Fifeshire, . . 6th Sept.
(111) Church of Liston, Kirkliston, Linlithgowshire, ... 11th Sept.
(112) Church of Ecclesmachan, Linlithgowshire, ... 13th Sept.
(113) Church of Bolton, Haddingtonshire, . 18th Sept.
(114) Church of the Hospital of Scotland's Wells, Kinross-shire, . . . 2d Oct.
(115) Church of Fordoun, S. Palladius, Kincardineshire, ... 17th Oct.
(116) Church of Laurencekirk, Conveth, S. Laur., Kincardineshire, . . . 19th Oct.
(117) Church of Heriot, Mid-Lothian, . 6th Mar.
(118) Church of Morham, Haddingtonshire, 9th Mar.
(119) Church of Kirkcaldy, S. Pat. (or S. Britius ?), Fifeshire, . . . 21st Mar.

A.D. 1245.

(120) Church of Dysart, S. Serf's, Fifeshire, 26th Mar.
(121) Church of Leslie, Fetkill or Fitekill, Fifeshire, ... 28th Mar.
(122) Church of Auchtermuchty, Holy Trinity, Fifeshire, ... 31st Mar.
(123) Church of Scotstarvit, Cupar, Fifeshire, 3d April.
(124) Church of Moonzie, Fifeshire, . . 5th April.
(125) Church of Whittinghame, Haddingtonshire, ... 7th May.

(126) ¶ Eccl. de Essy, ann. &c. xlvj^{to} Idus Maij.

(127) Eccl. de Fetherassach̄, eodem anno, octauo Kal. Junij.

(128) Eccl. de Kinross, eodem anno, v^{to} Kal. Julij.

(129) Eccl. de Hershilł, eodem anno pridie Kal. Augusti.

(130) Eccl. de Goggere, ann. &c. xlvij° x. Kal. Junij.

(131) Eccl. de Calledou*er*e Clere, eodem anno pridie Kal. Junij.[1]

(132) Eccl. de Methfen, eodem anno, s. xlvij° viij. Kal. Septembr.

(133) Eccl. de Simprig̃, eodem anno septima Kal. Julij.

(134) Eccl. de Abercrumbin, eodem anno ix. Kal. Nouembr.

(135) Eccl. de Halis, v° Kal. Octobr. anno &c. xl° octauo.

(136) Eccl. de Ecclis, eodem anno quarto Non. Octobr.

(137) Eccl. de Kaldestrem, eodem anno, pridie Non. Octobr.

(138) ¶ Eccl. de Ketenes, Anno &c. xlix° xiiij° Kal. Maij.

[1] Entries relating to "Meyfen" and "Abercrum" were begun here and then struck through.

A.D. 1246.

(126) Church of Eassie, S, Fergus's, Forfarshire, ... 15th May.
(127) Church of Fetteresso, S. Caran's, Kincardineshire, ... 25th May.
(128) Church of Kinross, S. Serf's, Kinrossshire, ... 27th June.
(129) Church of Hirsel, Coldstream, Berwickshire, ... 31st July.

A.D. 1247.

(130) Church of Gogar, Corstorphine, Mid-Lothian, ... 23d May.
(131) Church of Kirknewton, S. Cuthbert's, East Calder, Mid-Lothian, . . 31st May.
(132) Church of Methven, Perthshire, . 25th Aug.

(133) Church of Swinton, Simprin, Berwickshire, ... 25th June.
(134) S. Monace's Church, Abercrombie, Fifeshire, ... 24th Oct.

A.D. 1248.

(135) Church of Hales, S. Cuthbert's, Colinton, Mid-Lothian, ... 27th Sept.
(136) Church of Eccles, S. Cuth. and S. And., Berwickshire, ... 4th Oct.
(137) Church of Coldstream, Berwickshire, . 6th Oct.

A.D. 1249.

(138) Church of Kettins, Forfarshire, . . 18th April.

(139) Eccl. de strahittinmartin, eodem anno, xv. Kal. Junij.

(140) ¶ Eccl. de clacmanan, eodem anno Nono Kal. Sept.

¶ *Hee sunt ecclesie quas dedicavit Eps. Wills:—*

(141) Eccl. de Dunothyr dedicata est anno gracie m°cc°lxx°vj° Idus Maij.

(142) Capella de Collyn eodem anno xj° Kal. Junij. Ita quod nullū preiudicium generetur matrici ecclesie de Fethyressach.

(139) Church of Strathmartin, S. Martin, Forfarshire, ... 18th May.
(140) Church of Clackmannan, S. Serf, Clackmannanshire, . . . 24th Aug.

A.D. 1276.

These are the Churches which Bishop William dedicated:—

(141) Church of Dunottar, S. Ninian (Dunothyr), ... 15th May.
(142) Chapel of Cowie, Feteresso B.V.M., Kincardineshire. (So that no prejudice may arise to the mother Church of S. Caran of Feteresso), . . 22d May.

The above list of dedications proves that all the churches therein named were in existence in Scotland in the middle of the thirteenth century; and the fact that one dignitary of the Church was busy with this work of *consecrating* at that particular time, is a pretty sure indication that other ecclesiastics of the same class were not neglectful of their duty in this matter in their respective districts. The successor of David de

Bernham in the See of St Andrews was Abel, Archdeacon of St Andrews (1253), and he was followed by Gamelin or Gamelinus in 1255. To this bishop succeeded William Wishart, Wischart, or Wiscard in 1272-73, the consecrator of the last two churches in the above list. It is not known whether Abel or Gamelin used David de Bernham's Pontifical. Probably they did so.[1] But it was certainly made use of by William Wishart, who, as Bishop of St Andrews, dedicated the church of Dunottar, and the chapel of Cowie, in the north of Scotland, in the year 1276. This ecclesiastic, who is said to have belonged to the family of Pittarrow in the Mearns, was at one time Archdeacon of St Andrews, and in 1256 was made Chancellor of the kingdom. In 1268 he became Bishop of Glasgow, at which time he held twenty-three benefices, and subsequently he was transferred to the See of St Andrews. He attended the General Council of Lyons in 1274, summoned by Pope Gregory X., and died at Marbottle in Teviotdale, 5to. Kal. Jun. (28th May),

[1] "It appears that Bishop Gameline did not neglect consecrating churches. At least his death occurred (at Inchmurtach) from paralysis, immediately after his return from the dedication of a church at Peebles."—Pont., Introd., p. ix.

1279. The west end of the Cathedral of St Andrews had at one time, it is said, been blown down by a storm. It was rebuilt in a costly manner by Wishart. Keith, evidently on the authority of Fördun, declares that Wishart died "with the reputation of a truly good and virtuous man."

CHAPTER VII.

Modes of Dedicating Churches.

IT has always been customary to have some kind of religious service at the opening of a church. Consecration, as a religious rite, seems to have existed very early in the history of Christianity. Even before the time of Constantine, the great friend and patron of the Church, religious edifices underwent this service. There was then, as there has always been, a felt and recognised distinction between persons, places, and things that were purely secular, and those that were sacred—the human mind itself giving a ready and spontaneous expression to this distinction. In the primitive Church the religious services at the opening of a house of God seem to have been of the simplest and plainest description. The object, of course, was to set apart the edifice with all its belongings to sacred uses, and these alone—to

separate it from the common and worldly in life's affairs, and to consecrate it as a fitting sanctuary for the worship and service of Almighty God.

Although, perhaps, no direct or positive precept for any such ceremony could be found in the Gospels or New Testament writings, yet the primitive Christians seem to have thought the practice most becoming, and certainly they had striking examples of such services in several passages in the Old Testament Scriptures. In the dedication of the Temple referred to in the eighth chapter of 1st Kings; in the dedication of the house of David, indicated in the title of the 30th Psalm; and in the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem—the holy city—mentioned in the twenty-seventh verse of the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah,—there were to be found undoubted references to places that had been solemnly set apart by a religious service; whilst in the actions of the Saviour, in twice purifying the Temple, and expelling the ungodly traffickers therefrom, the members of the primitive Church saw in the divine mind, as represented by Christ, a peculiar respect and reverence shown for things and places that were regarded as sacred. In the early Christian centuries the ceremony of consecration would in all probability consist simply of

praise, prayer, and the reading and preaching of the Word. But in the middle ages, when the Church had in many respects become corrupt, when ritualism had made such tremendous advances, then, as we find from the Pontificals and other service-books that have come down to us, the ceremonies of consecration were of the most complicated, burdensome, and superstitious description.

This was certainly the case in David de Bernham's days, in regard to those churches in Scotland that were dedicated by him. In the Pontifical already referred to, and which he used in the consecration of churches—crosses, candelabra, holy oil, chrism, wine, salt, incense, and other such things, are mentioned as necessaries for the service. The bishop and clergy in their sacerdotal robes had to make certain processions, carrying the relics of some saint around the church, before they came to the door and demanded admission. Psalms were repeated and chanted, both without and within the church. Prayers of various kinds were offered up. A litany was rehearsed. Passages of Scripture were gone over. The Virgin, as well as patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, holy innocents, martyrs, confessors, monks, hermits, and sainted women, were all invoked in the

litany, and the words "*ora pro nobis*"—pray for us—repeatedly used. On the pavement of the church the Greek and Roman alphabets were written with the bishop's staff in the form of a cross. Mass was celebrated, a sermon was preached, and a long, tedious, and superstitious service, all in the Latin tongue, was closed with the benediction. We may therefore reasonably infer that in the thirteenth century, on Sundays and festival days, equally unprofitable and burdensome services would be gone through in all the churches and chapels throughout Scotland.

As a proof of what has been said, the following passages from the Pontifical itself will be interesting to the learned reader :—

Hæc sunt quæ ad dedicationem ecclesiæ præparanda sunt: Duodecim cruces pictæ foris et duodecim intus, Crux, candelabra, viginti quatuor cerei, duodecim deforis et duodecim intus, vasa convenientia ad sacrandam et ad deferendam aquam; Duo majores cerei ad candelabra; viginti quatuor clavi quibus cerei infigantur; Oleum sanctum et chrisma, ysopum, sabulum vel cineres, vinum, sal, majora grana incensi; Panni altaris.

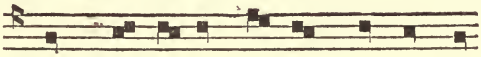
Deinde hoc ordine consecretur domus Dei.

Primitùs, præsul et cæteri ministri ecclesiæ induant se vestimentis sacris cum quibus divinum ministerium adimplere debent. Et dum se induunt, dictis consuetis Psalmis, id est Judica me Deus et, Quam dilecta, Inclina Domine, Memento Domine.

Kyrieleison.
Christeleison.
Kyrieleison.
Pater noster.
Et ne nos.
Salvos fac servos tuos.
Mitte nobis, Domine, auxilium de sancto.
Esto nobis, Domine, turris fortitudinis.
Non nobis, Domine, non nobis.
Domine, exaudi orationem meam.
Dominus vobiscum.
Oremus.
Deinde dicat episcopus hanc Orationem.

DEUS, qui paternâ majestate ignea claustra dirupisti infernorum, et sanguine tuo populum tibi adquisisti sempiternum; indue nos armis spiritualibus virtutum, et invictâ sanctæ crucis potentiâ, ut contra diabolum pugnaturi te in auxilium habeamus, quatenus tibi hæreditatem de iniquo diaboli spolio adquiramus; et qui in domum Zachæi quondam miseratus descendisti, ad domum quoque hanc quam sanctificaturi sumus venire dignare; et populos qui ad ejus dedicationem convenerunt, spirituali gaudio munera, Salvator mundi, Domine Jesu Christe, Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Post hæc veniat episcopus de tentorio cum processione ante ostium ecclesiæ quæ dedicanda est, hanc sonoriter cantando.



Zaz-chæ-e fes-ti-nans des-cen-de,

quia hodie in domo tuâ oportet me manere; at ille festinans descendit et suscepit illum gaudens in domum suam; hodie huic domui salus à Domino facta est, alleluya, æ u o u a e.

Quâ finitâ, dicatur a præsule.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

ACTIONES nostras, quæsumus, Domine, et aspirando præveni et adjuvando prosequere; ut, interveniente beatâ et gloriosâ semperque virgine Dei genitrice Mariâ cum omnibus sanctis cuncta nostra operatio et à te semper incipiat, et per te cœpta finiatur. Per eundem.

Alia.

DEUS, qui nos pastores in populo vocari voluisti, præsta, quæsumus, ut hoc quod humano ore dicimur, in tuis, oculis esse valeamus. Per Christum.

Alia.

OMNIPOTENS et misericors Deus, qui sacerdotibus tuis præ cæteris tantam gloriam contulisti, ut quicquid in tuo nomine dignè perfectèque ab eis agitur, à te fieri credatur; quæsumus immensam clementiam tuam, ut, interveniente beatâ Dei genitrice semperque virgine Mariâ, sanctoque apostolo tuo N., vel martyre tuo N., vel confessore tuo N., vel virgine tuâ N., quicquid modo visitaturi sumus visites, quicquid benedicturi benedicas; sitque ad nostræ humilitatis introitum omnium sanctorum tuorum meritis fuga dæmonum, et angelicæ pacis ingressus. Per eundem Dominum.

Et illuminentur duodecim cerei et ponantur deforis per circuitum ecclesiæ quæ dedicanda est, et totidem intus; tumque circumeant ipsam ecclesiam deforis cum processione et sanctorum reliquiis, canendo hanc Letaniam.

Kyrieleison.
Christeleison.
Christe, audi nos,
Pater de cœlis Deus, miserere nobis.
Fili, redemptor mundi Deus, miserere nobis.
Spiritus Sancte, Deus, miserere nobis.
Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis.

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.
Sancta Dei genitrix, ora pro nobis.
Sancta virgo virginum, ora.
Sancte Michael,
Sancte Gabriel,
Sancte Raphael,
Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli, orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines, orate.
Sancte Johannes Baptista, ora.
Omnes sancti patriarchæ et prophetæ, orate pro nobis.
Sancte Petre, ora.
Sancte Paule,
Sancte Andrea, II.
Sancte Johannes evangelista,
Sancte Jacobe,
Sancte Philippe,
Sancte Bartholomee,
Sancte Mathæe,
Sancte Thoma,
Sancte Jacobe,
Sancte Symon,
Sancte Thadæe,
Sancte Mathia,
Sancte Barnaba,

Sancte Luca,

Sancte Marce,

Omnes sancti apostoli et evangelistæ, orate pro nobis.

Omnes sancti discipuli Domini, orate pro nobis.

Omnes sancti innocentes, orate pro nobis.

Sancte Stephane, ora.

Sancte Laurenti,

Sancte Vincenti,

Sancte Clemens,

Sancte Alexander,

Sancte Dionisi cum sociis tuis,

Sancte Maurici cum sociis tuis,

Sancte Albane,

Sancte Thoma,

Sancte Eadmunde,

Sancte Gervasi,

Sancte Prothasi,

Omnes sancti martyres, orate pro nobis.

Sancte Silvester, ora.

Sancte Martine,

Sancte Nicholae,

Sancte Augustine,

Sancte Gregori,

Sancte Ambrosi,

Sancte Kentegerne,

Sancte Cuthberte,

Sancte Dunstane,
Sancte Benedicte,
Sancte Jeronime,
Sancte Leonarde,
Sancte Patrici,
Omnes sancti confessores, orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti monachi et heremitæ, orate.
Sancta Maria Magdalena, ora.
Sancta Felicitas,
Sancta Perpetua,
Sancta Agatha,
Sancta Agnes,
Sancta Lucia,
Sancta Cæcilia,
Sancta Petronilla,
Sancta Scolastica,
Sancta Brigida,
Sancta Katerina,
Omnes sanctæ virgines, orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis. II.
Propitius esto, parce nobis, Domine.
Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine.
Ab insidiis diaboli, libera.
A damnatione perpetuâ,
Ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis,
Ab infestationibus dæmonum,

A spiritu fornicationis,
Ab appetitu inanis gloriæ,
Ab omni immunditiâ mentis et corporis,
Ab ira et odio et omni malâ voluntate,
Ab immundis cogitationibus,
A cæcitate cordis,
A fulgure et tempestate,
A subitaneâ et æternâ morte,
Per mysterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ,
Per passionem et crucem tuam,
Per gloriosam resurrectionem tuam,
Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam,
Per gratiam Sancti Spiritûs Paraclyti,
In horâ mortis, succurre nobis, Domine.
In die judicii, libera nos, Domine.
Peccatores, te rogamus, audi nos.
Ut pacem nobis dones, te rogamus, audi nos.
Ut misericordia et pietas tua nos custodiat, te rogamus,
Ut ecclesiam istam benedicere et consecrare digneris, te rogamus,
Ut dompnum apostolicum et omnes gradus Ecclesiæ in sanctâ religione conservare digneris, te rogamus,
Ut regi nostro et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris, te rogamus,

Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sanctâ religione conservare digneris, te rogamus,

Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum in tuo sancto servitio conservare digneris, te rogamus,

Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris sempiterna bona retribuas, te

Ut cunctum populum Christianum pretioso sanguine tuo redemptum conservare digneris, te

Ut oculos misericordiæ tuæ super nos reducere digneris, te

Ut obsequium servitutis nostræ rationabile facias,

Ut mentes nostras ad cœlestia desideria erigas,

Ut miserias pauperum et captivorum intueri et relevare digneris,

Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem æternam dones,

Ut nos exaudire digneris,

Fili Dei, II. te

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis, Domine.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos, Domine.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Christe, audi nos.
Kyrieleison.
Christeleison.
Kyrieleison.

Finitâ vero Letaniâ, dicantur ab episcopo hæ Orationes ante ostium ecclesiæ, &c.

The above extract from David de Bernham's "Pontificale" forms only about an eighth part of the service at the dedication of churches, but it will help to show the reader the lengthened, burdensome, and unintelligible services which the people of Scotland had to listen to, and engage in, in the thirteenth century. Indeed ritualism in this century may be said to have reached a climax. The rites and ceremonies performed in the churches on Sundays, saints' days, and other holidays, were of the most varied, and many of them of the most superstitious and oppressive, character. The worship of the Virgin, the veneration of relics, the paying of divine honours to the consecrated bread in the Eucharist, the invocations of saints and angels, were some of the practices that disfigured the Church of Christ in this age. The clergy, no doubt from the best of motives, in the absence of printed books, and destitute of faith in the power of the Gospel ordi-

nance of preaching and in the efficacy of the Saviour's intercession, sought to set forth the truths of religion not merely by signs and symbols, but also at times by mimic representations. In this century, too, Boniface VIII. instituted the centennial year of jubilee—a ceremony of great pomp in the Church, which was changed in the next century by Clement VI., at the request of the citizens of Rome, to an observance every fiftieth year. When these things are considered, we need not be astonished to find that in the dedication of churches at the period above referred to, the services should be of the most lengthened, varied, and, in some respects, superstitious character.

With regard to the ceremony of dedication of churches, it is only necessary further to say that, according to the "Pontificale," when the clergy had got within the church, and after a litany and certain prayers had been gone through, the bishop stationed himself at the left corner of the church towards the east, and wrote with his staff (*baculo suo*) on the pavement across to the right corner of the building on the west, the letters of the Greek alphabet (*Delta* in De Bernham's "Pontificale" being omitted, *Sigma* introduced between *Epsilon* and *Zeta*, *Alpha* and *Omega* repeated at the end

of the alphabet, and one or two other variations made). Then, after the singing of an antiphony, the words being, "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, *a Christo Domino*," and a psalm (His foundations, &c.), the bishop comes to the centre of the church and offers up a prayer. Then, going to the right corner of the church on the east, he, with his staff, writes across the floor to the left corner on the west, the letters of the Roman alphabet, J and U being omitted; and then he comes to the centre and prays in words having reference, among other things, to incidents in the life of Moses, and again invokes blessings on the building, its services and worshippers.

Now, if by the use of the letters of the Greek alphabet, traced on the floor of the church in circumstances of such solemnity, a symbolical reference is made to the New Testament Scriptures, which were originally written in Greek, surely, instead of the Roman characters, the letters of the Hebrew alphabet should also have been traced upon the pavement of the sacred edifice as symbolical of the Old Testament writings, which were originally written in Hebrew. But perhaps the greater difficulty in forming the Hebrew characters, and a not too familiar

acquaintance with the Hebrew language itself, as well as a superstitious reverence for everything Roman in the thirteenth century, prevented this, and substituted, instead of the letters familiar to the ancient people of God, the alphabet most familiar to all the Western Churches in that age.

Further, in this service of dedication it has to be observed that not only are most of the prayers full of appropriate references to individuals and incidents mentioned in the Old and New Testament writings, but portions of the sacred Scriptures themselves are prescribed for reading. There is a *Lectio*, for instance, from the beautiful twenty-first chapter of Revelation, in these words, "I saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband;" and ending with the passage, "And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new." The verses from St Luke's Gospel recording the conversion of Zacchæus (Luke xix. 1-10) are also prescribed for reading. The bishop, too, in addition to all that takes place before, has a sermon to preach to the people concerning the dedication of the church and other matters; and with the benediction, &c., the service apparently comes to an end.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Rise of the Mendicant Orders.

BUT now the question naturally arises—Why, in this particular century, were there so many churches and chapels dedicated in this part of Scotland? Many of these edifices had no doubt been in existence for years before this time, and religious services had been conducted in them: why was there such haste now in giving an apparently enhanced sacredness to these buildings by the act of a bishop's dedication? The editor of the 'Pontificale' mentions (Introd., p. v) a suggested explanation—namely, that "in the year 1239 Cardinal Otho held a Legatine Council in Edinburgh," and that probably he issued "a constitution relating to the neglect of consecration of churches."[1] But if so, why did the Cardinal issue a constitution at this particular

[1] Cardinal Otho promulgated an order dealing with the consecration of churches in England in 1237. (*Vide* Johnson's 'English Canons,' Anglo-Cath. Liby., Part II., p. 151.)

time? and why, in all probability, did the several bishops of Scotland give a ready and immediate compliance with the Cardinal's command? The only satisfactory solution of this problem can be obtained by remembering that in the early part of this thirteenth century a great religious movement sprang up throughout all Europe, which, whilst in all probability it tended to the spiritual welfare of the people, at the same time was most damaging to the parochial clergy, and to the churches where they ministered. From these churches worshippers in great numbers were withdrawn; and to counteract this apparent evil, and give a peculiar sacredness to these buildings, the bishops of the country in all probability proceeded at once to their consecration. The movement above referred to, and which in David de Bernham's days was exercising a most important influence on the people of Scotland, was the preaching of Dominican, Franciscan, and other friars.

Indeed one of the most remarkable spiritual developments of the thirteenth or of any other century was the rise and rapid progress of the Mendicant Orders. The pride and arrogance of the Pontiffs were now at their height. The enemies of the Church were everywhere increasing.

There was a growing feeling among the people against the looseness of ecclesiastical discipline. The doctrines and opinions of the so-called heretics —the Albigenses and Waldenses—were spreading. The secular clergy were indulging in luxury and ease, and often neglectful of their duties. The old Orders of monks—the Benedictines, Cistercians, Carthusians, and suchlike — were many of them living in utter disregard of their rules, and not a few giving themselves up to vice and sloth. An odium was thus resting upon religion. Christianity was being wounded in the house of its friends, when all at once there burst upon Europe the flame of Dominican and Franciscan piety, and the zeal of the new preachers. New orders of men rapidly sprang up, who, by their eloquence, burning zeal, self-denial, and contempt of the world, drew towards them the attention of listening thousands, so that the ordinary sanctuaries in many cases became deserted, the people eagerly attached themselves to their new teachers, and all over Christendom there was given a tremendous impetus to religion and godliness of life. Nor was this a temporary outburst of mental activity and spiritual life. "During three centuries," says Mosheim (Ch. Hist., Cent. XIII., Part II., chap. ii. sect. 24), the Domini-

cans and Franciscans "had the direction of nearly everything in Church and State, held the highest offices both ecclesiastical and civil, taught with almost absolute authority in all the schools and churches, and defended the authority and majesty of the Roman Pontiffs against kings, bishops, and heretics with amazing zeal and success. What the Jesuits were after Luther began the Reformation, the same were the Dominicans and Franciscans from the thirteenth century to the time of Luther—the soul of the whole Church and State, and the projectors and executers of all the enterprises of any moment. Indeed the history of this and the following centuries shows that so great [sect. 23] was the reputation of these Mendicant friars, that they were employed in transactions of the highest magnitude, in negotiations for peace, in the ratification of treaties, in controlling the policy of courts," &c., &c.

Dominic, or St Dominic as he is sometimes called—the founder of the first-mentioned Order—was a Spaniard by birth, and said to be of an illustrious family of the name of Guzman. He was born near to Calahorra in 1170, was educated for the Church, and being a youth of studious habits and great austerity of life, he soon became a canon of the Cathedral Church of Osma, in his

native land. Dominic soon distinguished himself as a preacher; and the Bishop of Osma having resolved to set out on a mission to the south of France, with a view of bringing back the *Albigeious* to the faith of the Church, he took Dominic with him as a labourer in this now somewhat difficult field. Here the young canon greatly distinguished himself by his eloquence, zeal, and devotedness. For after the Bishop left, Dominic remained behind, preaching, writing, and even, it is said, using force, and giving an example of apostolic humility by begging his bread from door to door. This extraordinary man soon drew around him kindred spirits, and having attended the Lateran Council of 1215, he founded a new Order of monks, established many monasteries, and finally died in 1221, leaving behind him a memory and an influence which, except in the case of Francis of Assisi, far surpassed that of any ecclesiastic in the middle ages.

Francis, the founder of the Franciscan Order of monks, on the other hand, was an Italian, the son of a merchant in Assisi, where the saint was born in the year 1182. His real name was John, but having acquired a facility in speaking the French language, in consequence of his frequent visits to the south of France on the business of

his father, the people at home gave him the name of Franciscus—a name which ever afterwards clung to him. He is said to have been a reckless and dissolute youth, though of a generous and kindly disposition; but a severe illness which came upon him, completely changed his views and prospects of life. He became religious almost to insanity. The powers of the world to come seem completely to have overwhelmed him. His father took all his property from him lest he should squander it, and the saint clothed himself in the meanest attire, and went forth everywhere preaching the Gospel, and calling upon sinners to repent and turn to Christ. Indeed this was one of the distinguishing marks of the Mendicant Orders, that whereas the older Orders of monks were very much confined to their monasteries, or to special duties in connection with churches belonging to them, the friars that rose up in the thirteenth century went everywhere preaching, and hence the appellation "*Fratres Prædicatores.*" Somewhere about 1208, Francis founded his new Order, the rules of which were *poverty*, *obedience*, *fasting*, and *prayer*.[1] In 1210 he had eleven followers. Many curious stories are told of the saint. In

[1] Some writers seem to make chastity one of his rules.

1215 he attended the Lateran Council, and received the sanction of Pope Innocent III. to his mission. The first chapter of the Order was held at Assisi in 1216, and a general chapter in 1219, which was attended by thousands. In the following year some of the Franciscan monks were killed in Morocco, whither they had gone—which, so far from retarding, rather gave an impetus to the designs of the Order. Francis himself, after a life of great devotion and earnestness, had a two years' illness, and died where he was born, on the 14th October 1226. The influence of his life, however, remained for centuries afterwards.

Such a great religious movement as this could not but have a most tremendous effect upon the old order of things. It was, in a sense, a Reformation of the Church all over Europe—two centuries before Luther's day. "This sort of monks," says Mosheim (Cent. XIII., Part II., chap. ii. sect. 21), "had then become exceedingly necessary in the Church. For the wealthy Orders, withdrawn by their opulence from solicitude about religion, and from obsequiousness to the Pontiffs, and indulging themselves in idleness, voluptuousness, and all kinds of vice, could no longer be employed in any arduous enterprise; and the heretics were,

of course, allowed to roam about securely, and to gather congregations of followers. . . . A class of people, therefore, was very much wanted, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external sanctity of their rules of life, might resemble such teachers as the heretics both commended and exhibited."

These new teachers, however, were not long in meeting with opposition; but their great enemies were not so much the older classes of monks, as the bishops and priests of the Church. Indeed a deadly hatred sprang up between them, because the Dominicans and Franciscans "weakened the ancient discipline," and infringed upon the rights both of bishops and priests. A struggle, therefore, between these parties, was witnessed all over Europe,—the Pontiffs, however, taking the side of the Mendicants. "As these Orders had liberty from the Pontiffs," says Mosheim (Cent. XIII., Part II., chap. ii. sect. 23), "to spread themselves everywhere, and to instruct the people and to teach youth, and as they exhibited a far greater show of piety and sanctity than the older Orders of monks, all Europe suddenly burst forth in admiration and reverence for them. Very many cities, as appears from the most credible documents, were divided for their sakes into four

sections, of which the first was assigned to the Dominicans, the second to the Franciscans, the third to the Carmelites, and the fourth to the Augustinians. *The people frequented almost exclusively the churches of the Mendicants, and but seldom asked for the sacraments, as they are called, or for burial, except among them,* which naturally called forth grievous complaints from the ordinary priests who had the charge of parishes." [1]

This was evidently the state of matters in Scotland, as well as throughout Europe, when David de Bernham, with his Pontifical in his hand, proceeded to consecrate the churches in his extensive diocese of St Andrews. For the Mendicants had been introduced into Scotland some few years previously by his predecessor, William de Malvoisin, and they were evidently making their influence to be felt from one end of the country to the other. "The Bishop of St Andrews," William de Malvoisin, says Spottiswoode (lib. ii. p. 43), "being all this while in France, did now return, bringing with him some of the Order of S. Dominick, some Franciscans, Jacobins, and of the monks called *Vallis Umbrosæ.* These Orders not being known before in this Church, by their crafty in-

[1] See also Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i. chap. vii. pp. 451-453.

sinuations with the people, and the profession they made in leading an austere life, did supplant the credit of the priests, drawing to themselves all the force and credit of the spiritual ministry, and were upheld by the Popes, whose designs they studied especially to advance. The King [Alexander II.], who looked no further than the devout profession they made, gave them all a kind reception; and to the monks *Vallis Umbrosæ* he erected a monastery in Pluscardy, within the county of Murray."

It was evidently this new and influential movement, therefore, that induced David de Bernham to proceed so zealously to the consecration of the churches in his diocese. He saw the people flocking to the meeting-places of the Mendicants and deserting their parish churches; and in order to draw their attention to these as the true and only sanctuaries of the land, he set about this rite of dedication, to which, no doubt, the clergy and people of surrounding districts would all be duly summoned.

NOTE.

Many Orders of monks rose up in the thirteenth century all over Europe, but the principal were the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinian Eremites; and of these the two first-named were the most illustrious.

Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great as he is called, author of many works on philosophy, of sermons and commentaries on several books of Scripture, became a Dominican monk in 1223, and in 1238 he was made vicar-general of the Order. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor, and one of the greatest scholars of his time, became a Dominican at Naples in 1241. John Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor, a learned theologian, and Alexander Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, an Englishman belonging to Gloucestershire, and a man greatly distinguished for his scholastic theology, were Franciscans. Roger Bacon, who taught the physical sciences at Oxford University, and who died in 1284 at the age of seventy-eight, was a Franciscan. Indeed men belonging to one or other of these religious Orders were found among the statesmen, ambassadors, pontiffs, cardinals, professors, and other exalted classes in the middle ages.

The Dominicans, or Black Friars, wore a thick black worsted cope over a kirtle of clean white linen; a black, afterwards a brown, hood; a white scapular, and boots. They had houses in Aberdeen, Ayr, Berwick, Cupar-Fife, Dundee, Dysart, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Haddington, Inverness, Linlithgow, Montrose, Perth, St Andrews, St Monance, near Elie, St Ninians, and Wigtown.

The Franciscans, Cordeliers, Grey Friars, or Minorites, wore a grey habit, which was changed in the fifteenth century to a brown frock, girded with a knotted robe, and a black hood. Some of the Order were sandalled, but the rule required bare feet. The *early* convents of this Order were cells or cottages of mud and wood, in the suburbs or poor districts of towns. They had houses in Berwick, Douglas, Dumfries, Dundee, Haddington, Inverkeithing, Roxburgh, Aberdeen, Aberdour, Ayr, Banff, Edinburgh,

Elgin, Glasgow, Jedburgh, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Perth, St Andrews, Stirling.

The Carmelites, or White Friars, who claimed to be descendants of the Prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel, wore a dark-brown tunic, with a white frock and scapular; and they had houses in Aberdeen, Banff (St Mary's), Berwick, Dunbar, Edinburgh (Greenside, Holy Cross, at the foot of the Calton Hill), Inverbervie (Kincardine), Dundonald (Irwyn St Mary's), Linlithgow (St Mary's), Luffness, Queensferry (St Mary's), Roxburgh, and Tylilum (St Mary's), outside the walls of Perth.

CHAPTER IX.

Ceremonial at Dunfermline in Honour of Queen Margaret.

ON the 13th July 1249, David de Bernham crowned Alexander III. at Scone, with formalities partaking, perhaps, both of a Norman and Celtic type; and in the following year he took part in a great religious and State ceremonial at Dunfermline in honour of the long-deceased Queen Margaret, consort of King Malcolm III.

This lady was unquestionably the most illustrious of all the Queens of Scotland. Indeed there are few more beautiful characters to be found in history. Descended from a long line of Saxon princes, and enriched by God with great mental and moral qualities, she ultimately became the consort and counsellor of one of the most conspicuous of Scottish monarchs. Margaret, the granddaughter of Edmund, "the Ironside" King of England and contemporary of

William the Conqueror, spent her childhood and youth in Hungary, where, in consequence of the troubles in her native land, she was a stranger and an exile. Returning home in the full bloom of womanhood, and accompanied by her brother Edgar—the legitimate heir in the Saxon line to the English throne—her mother Agatha, and her sister Christian, the vessel in which they ultimately sailed to Scotland found its way into the Firth of Forth, and the exiles landing, received a sincere welcome at the Scottish Court; while Margaret, after considerable hesitation, became the wife of the reigning monarch. Great and beneficial was the influence which she exercised over Malcolm, the ladies of the Court, the clergy, the nobles, and indeed over all classes in the kingdom. The record of her life by Turgot her confessor, at one time Prior of Durham, and subsequently Bishop of St Andrews, is a beautiful gem of Scottish medieval literature (Acta Sanctorum, June 10). Margaret in course of time became the mother of several children,—three of whom, Edgar, Alexander I., and David, occupied the throne of Scotland in succession; whilst one of her daughters, Matilda or Maud, became the consort of Henry I. of England—and it was at the request of Matilda that

Turgot wrote the biography of this celebrated Scottish queen. The life of Margaret was one of great usefulness, purity, charity, and devotion. Indeed so intensely did she seem to live in good deeds and religious observances—while at the same time maintaining with dignity the high position she occupied as consort of the sovereign—that she thereby in all probability shortened her days. For she died in the Castle of Edinburgh—where her beautiful chapel may yet be seen—on the 16th November 1093, in the forty-seventh year of her age, and while most of her children were comparatively young. The closing scene of her life, as described by Turgot, is most touching. Malcolm had gone with an army to Northumberland and taken with him his eldest son, Edward. Both were slain in battle. Another son entered the chamber where his mother was dying, and reluctantly communicated to her the doleful tidings. She submissively bowed to the Divine will, and soon after passed away. Her body was taken to Dunfermline, and buried in the Church of the Holy Trinity there—a church which she had founded and enriched in her former happy and more joyous days.

And now one hundred and fifty-seven years have passed away, and a great and brilliant com-

pany are assembled at Dunfermline, to raise the remains of the deceased queen out of their place of sepulture, and deposit them in a silver shrine, profusely adorned with gold and precious stones. David de Bernham was one of the principal figures in this great assembly, which consisted of the king (Alexander III.), the chief nobles, bishops, abbots, priors, clergy, and other classes, in the kingdom. What then took place is thus related by Fordun (Scotichron., vol. ii. p. 83): "In the year 1250, the king (Alexander III.), and the queen his mother, along with bishops and abbots, and other nobles of the kingdom, met at Dunfermline, where they most devoutly lifted the bones and remains of the renowned Queen Margaret, their ancestor, from the stone tomb in which for many terms of years they had rested, and placed them in a *fir* shrine, adorned with gold and gems. At the digging of the ground, so great and agreeable a perfume arose, that the whole of that sanctuary was thought to be sprinkled with painters' colours and the scent of springing flowers. Nor was there wanting a divine miracle; for, when that most renowned treasure, placed in the outer church (*auld kirk*), was being easily carried by the sacred hands of the bishops and abbots, to be reinterred in the

choir, joining their melodious voices, and had reached even the chancel entrance, just opposite the body of her husband, King Malcolm, lying under a groined ceiling at the north part of the nave of the outer church, the arms of the bearers were immediately benumbed, and they could not convey the shrine with the relics further, on account of the greatness of the weight; but, whether willing or not, they were obliged to halt, and speedily laid down their burden. After some interval, and additional and stronger bearers of the shrine being got, the more they endeavoured to raise it, the less able were they to do so. At length, all wondering, and judging themselves unworthy of so precious a trust, the voice of a bystander, divinely inspired, as was believed, was heard suggesting distinctly, that the bones of the holy queen could not be transferred further until the tomb of her husband was opened, and his body raised with similar honour. The saying pleased all, and, adopting its advice, King Alexander, his lineal descendant, with associates chosen for this purpose, without either force or impediment, raised aloft the shrine, filled with the bones of the king, along with the elevation of the coffer of the relics of the queen, deposited in due form each in a sarcophagus, in the

mausoleum prepared for that purpose, accompanied by the chanting convent and choir of prelates, on the 13th day before the calends of July"—that is, the 19th June.

Tytler (Hist. Scot., vol. ii. pp. 375, 376) has the following in regard to this ceremonial: "The body of St Margaret was removed, with much ecclesiastical pomp, from the outer church, where she was originally interred, to the choir, beside the high altar. The procession of priests and abbots who carried the precious load on their shoulders, moved along to the sounds of the organ, and the melodious songs of the choir, singing in parts."[1]

The account, however, of what took place would not be complete without Wynton's version (Orygynale Cronikil, B. vii. 10):—

"That yhere, with weneratyown,
Was made the translatyown
Of Saynt Margret, the haly qwene.
A fayre myrakil thare wes sene:
The thryd Alysandyre bodyly,
Thare wes wyth a gret cumpany
Of erlys, byschapys, and barownys,
And mony famows gret persownys;

[1] The above-mentioned historian makes the remark that this is the first notice of an organ in Scotland.

Of Saynt Andrewys thare wes be name,
The Byschope Davy of Barnhame;
Robert of Kyldeleth syne
That Abbot was of Dwnfermlyne,
Powere had thai than at fulle
Grawntyd be the Papy's bulle
To mak that translatyown;
And that to do thai mad thame bowne,
And fayndyt to gere the body
Translatyd be of that Lady,
Wyth all thare powere and thare slycht,
Her body to rays thai had na mycht,
Na lyft hyr anys owt of that plas,
Quhare scho that tyme lyand was.
For all thare devotyownys,
Prayeris, and gret perysownys,
That the persownys gadryd there
Dyd on devot mahere:
Quhyll fyrst thai tuk wpe the body
Of hyr lord that lay thare-by,
And bare it bene into the quere,
Lystly syne on fayre manere
Hyr cors thai tuk up and bare ben,
And thame enteryd togyddyr then.
Swa trowyd thai all than gadryd thare
Quhat honoure til hyr lord scho bare.
Swa, this myrakil to record
Notis gret reverens dwne til hyr lord;
As scho oysyd in hyr lyf,
Quhen scho wes hys spousyd wyf.
Of this solempne translatyowne
Befor thare is mad mentyown;
Bot thare is noucht, notyd the yhere,
Na this myrakil wryttyn here,
That suld noucht have bene forghet
For the honour of Saynt Margret."

It may be as well to add that a movement was about this time being made, evidently by the abbot and convent of Dunfermline, to have Queen Margaret canonised, in order, in all probability, to bring pilgrims to her shrine, especially on her festival day, June 10th, and thereby enrich the monastery, although, no doubt, higher motives were put forth at the time. To accomplish this, a formal process had to be instituted, by which the merits or demerits of the person had to be investigated. Then the *beatification* is pronounced by the Pope, and canonisation follows upon production of evidence that miracles have been performed at the tomb of the deceased person. All this was gone through in the case of Margaret—and she, who during her life was one of the most pious and exemplary of Scottish queens, was by the Church of that day solemnly placed in the roll of saints. (See Regist. de Dunf., pp. xii, xiii, and 181, 183, 185, 186.)

CHAPTER X.

On the Origin of Ecclesiastical Legislation in Scotland.

ECCLESIASTICAL legislation in Scotland, and the record of it, did not, properly speaking, come into existence until towards the middle of the thirteenth century. Laws, indeed, had at rare intervals been enacted before this time by Pictish and Scottish kings and chiefs in conjunction with bishops and clergy, and by synods or conventions of Irish, Welsh, and north of England ecclesiastics, or by conferences of the clergy called at the instance of Papal legates; but these are so few and fragmentary, and of so doubtful a character, as to make them of no importance whatever in considering the legislation of the Scottish Church. It was not until the days of David de Bernham that the Scottish clergy, in presence of the sovereign and nobles of the kingdom, sat in council and began to legislate

for themselves, and to put on record those laws or canons, many of which continued in force until the Reformation.

When the Church of Christ was *one* in the world, or at least more united than it is now, important matters of doctrine, discipline, and worship were determined by ŒCUMENICAL or GENERAL COUNCILS. The most celebrated of these assemblies were those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, not only because their decisions have been recognised by the Greek, Roman, and Protestant Churches, but because of the important matters that were determined by them. Before these famous councils met, there had been occasional gatherings of the clergy, both in the Eastern and Western Churches, to settle matters in dispute, and to regulate the affairs of the Church of Christ, but they were nothing more than mere provincial synods; and it was not until the conversion of Constantine—the Roman emperor—to the faith of Christ, and the external unity thereby given to the Church, that General Councils came into existence.

In order that the decrees of these and other councils might be carried out, and authority otherwise maintained in the different Churches of Christendom, PROVINCIAL or NATIONAL COUN-

CILS, as well as DIOCESAN SYNODS, ultimately came into being. In Scotland, indeed, there had probably, as has already been indicated, always been, from the very commencement of Christianity in that country, gatherings of ecclesiastics to confer about matters common to all; but in the year 1225 a remarkable departure was made in this respect from former methods, both in the *character* and *proceedings* of these ecclesiastical courts, and it is from this time that Church law in Scotland properly dates.[1] The circumstances which gave rise to this new state of things it may be proper to relate.

For many years in the middle ages, as is well

[1] In a letter to Dr Archdeacon Wilkins, author of the 'Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ,' on the ancient manner of holding councils in Scotland, the late Thomas Innes, vice-principal of the Scots College in Paris, makes the following division of periods as regards these councils—viz.:

Ætas prima (first age), A.D. 203 to 843, about 640 years.

Ætas secunda (second age), A.D. 843 to 1124, about 281 years.

Ætas tertia (third age), A.D. 1124 to 1225, about 100 years.

Ætas quarta (fourth age), A.D. 1225 to 1470, about 246 years.

Ætas quinta (fifth age), A.D. 1470 to 1560, about 90 years.

Thomas Innes was born at Drumgask, in the parish of Aboyne in Aberdeenshire, in the year 1662; his father, James Innes, being a wadsetter at Drumgask, and his mother, Jane Robertson, daughter of a person of that name in the town of Aberdeen. Innes was a scholar of a genuine stamp, painstaking and accurate—always full of zeal for the honour of his country, and for the glory of the ancient Church of his native land; and although by his researches in bringing to light the canons of the medieval Church of Scotland he jus-

known, attempts were made by certain ecclesiastics in England to gain a spiritual ascendancy over their brethren in the north. Not only did they use their influence to prevent the pallium being sent from Rome to the Bishop of St Andrews in Scotland, but they sought to obtain for themselves those metropolitan rights and privileges which in all justice should have been conferred upon the northern bishop. Just as the monarchs of England in this century, and at other times, attempted to subjugate Scotland, rob it of its liberties, and destroy its independence, so the Church of England asserted for many years a kind of ascendancy over the Scottish Church, and attempted again and again to give effect to

tified many of the charges brought against that Church by Protestants, yet from his love of truth, and from the fine historical turn of mind which characterised him, he concealed nothing. He was the first to lift the veil and throw light upon the ancient Church laws of Scotland. In 1729 he published his Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, in which there was a list given of Scottish provincial councils, made up from manuscripts in libraries in France, England, and Scotland. Bishop Keith, author of the 'History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland' (published in 1735), and Wilkins, author of the 'Concilia' above mentioned (published in 1737), were both indebted to Innes for what they published of the councils of the Scottish Church; and it was at his suggestion that the manuscripts were discovered in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and transcribed for Wilkins by Thomas Ruddiman, the then keeper of that famous library (Concilia Scotiæ, Introd., and Spalding Club Misc.)

it. There was a remarkable scene witnessed in regard to this very matter in an assembly at Northampton in the previous century. In the month of January 1176-77, a meeting was held at Norham, at which the monarchs of Scotland and England — William the Lion and Henry II. — and certain of the higher clergy of Scotland, were present. At this meeting the King of England earnestly pressed the Scottish clergy to accept of the Archbishop of York as their metropolitan, for at this time and for long after they had no such dignified ecclesiastic.[1] They refused to do so, however, or at all events declined to give a definite answer at present, giving as their reason the absence of several of their brethren, *as well as the want of the consent of the inferior clergy.* In the following year, however, the matter was again taken up and pressed forward. But this time it was the Pope's Legate, Hugo, Cardinal de Sancto Angelo, who was put forward to endeavour to get the Church of Scotland to subject itself to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York. The Legate called a meeting at Northampton, and cited the Scottish bishops to appear before him there. They obeyed the summons,

[1] The clergy could only meet in a provincial council by the authority of a metropolitan.

and attended along with great numbers of their clergy; and thus does Spottiswoode describe the scene that was then witnessed:—

"The assembly being met, and all ranked in their places, the Cardinall (who had his seat somewhat higher than the rest) made a long speech in commendation of *humility* and *obedience*, showing what excellent virtues these were, and how much to be desired of men of *spirituall profession;* whereof when he talked a while, he came in end to perswade *the clergy of Scotland to submit them selves to the Primate of York: which he said was a thing very convenient for them, and would turn greatly to their ease and commodity; for having no superior amongst themselves, nor metropolitane to decide controversies that possibly might happen, there could none be fitter than their neighbour the Archbishop of York, a prelate of great respect, and one whose credit in the Court of Rome might serve them to good use; therefore besought them to lay aside all grudges and emulations, and dispose themselves to live in all times after, as members of one and the same Church.*

"The bishops, who feared to offend the Legate, made no answer, and after a long silence a young chanon named Gilbert rose up, and spake to this effect: 'The Church of Scotland, ever since the

faith of Christ was embraced in that kingdome, hath been a free and independent Church, subject to none but the Bishop of Rome, whose authority we refuse not to acknowledge. To admit any other for our metropolitane, especially the Archbishop of York, we neither can nor will; for notwithstanding the present peace, which we wish may long continue, warres may break up betwixt the two kingdomes; and if it shall fall out so, neither shall he be able to discharge any duty amongst us, nor can we safely and without suspicion resort to him. For the controversies which you, my lord Cardinall, say may arise amongst ourselves, we have learned and wise prelates who can determine the same; and if they should be deficient in their duties, we have a good and religious king, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so as we have no necessity of any stranger to be set over us: and I cannot think that either his Holinesse hath forgotten, or you, my lord, that are his Legate, can be ignorant of the late exemption granted unto Malcolm our last king; since the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may make us seem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore, in the name of all the Scottish Church, we doe humbly entreat the preservation of our ancient liberties, and that we be not brought

under subjection to our enemies.' These speeches he delivered with an extraordinary grace, and in so passionate a manner, that all the hearers were exceedingly moved, the English themselves commending his courage and the affection he showed to his countrey. But the Archbishop of York, who looked not for such opposition, called the young chanon to come unto him, and laying his hand upon his head, said, '*Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit ista sagitta*,' meaning that he was set on to speak by some others of greater note. So the Legate perceiving that the businesse would not work, and that the opposition was like to grow greater, he brake up the assembly. After which the prelates, returning home, were universally welcomed; but above the rest the Chanon Gilbert was in the mouthes of all men, and judged worthy of a good preferment; and soon after was promoved to the Bishoprick of Cathenes, and made Chancellor of the kingdome."—(Lib. ii. pp. 38-39. Lond. 1655.)

The principal offenders, therefore, against the independence of the Church of Scotland towards the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the parties who gave it trouble, were the Archbishops of York. Each individual prelate of that See wished to be looked

upon as the metropolitan of the Scottish Church, and spared no pains—using even the influence of the English monarch himself—to get this claim made good. But the king and clergy of Scotland resisted this claim to the very uttermost; and in order to free themselves from it for ever, and get quit of the difficulty in which they were placed by having no metropolitan over them, they asked the Supreme Pontiff—whose authority the English Church at this time fully acknowledged—to interpose on their behalf, and to give them permission to manage their own affairs. The result was that Honorius III., on the 19th May 1225, sent them the following Rescript:[1]—

"CONCILIUM PROVINCIALE SCOTICANUM.

"*Bulla Papæ Honorii III.*

"Honorius Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Universis Episcopis, Regni Scotiæ, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quidam vestrum nuper auribus nostris intimaverunt, quod cum non haberetis Archiepiscopum, cujus auctoritate possitis Concilium Provinciale, celebrare, contigit in regno Scotiæ, quod est a sede Apostolica tam remota, Statuta negligi Con-

[1] 4th Concil. Lateran, c. 6.

cilii Generalis, et enormia plurima committi, quæ remanent impunita. Cum autem Provincilia Concilia omitti non debeant 'in quibus corrigendis excessibus et moribus reformandis diligens est adhibendus cum Dei timore tractatus,' ac canonicæ sunt relegendæ regulæ ac conservandæ, maxime quæ in eodem Generali Concilio sunt statutæ; per Apostolica vobis scripta mandamus, quatenus cum Metropolitanum noxamini non habere, Auctoritate Nostra Provinciale Concilium celebretis. Dat. apud Tyberim xiv. Calend. Junii, Pontificatus Nostri anno 9."

The following is a free translation :—

"SCOTTISH PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

"*Bull of Pope Honorius III.*

"Honorius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, To all the venerable brethren, Bishops of the kingdom of Scotland, health and apostolical benediction. Not long ago certain of your number represented to us, that since ye have no Archbishop by whose authority a Provincial Council could be called, it happened that, in the kingdom of Scotland, which is so far removed from the Apostolic See, the statutes of the General Council were neglected, and many enor-

mities committed which remained unpunished. And since Provincial Councils ought not to be omitted 'where diligent conference in correcting excesses is joined with the fear of God,' and the canonical rules are gone over and preserved which were chiefly enacted in the same General Council, we command you, by apostolical writings, seeing that ye have no metropolitan, that ye by our authority hold a Provincial Council. Given at the Tiber, the 14th of the Calends of June (19th May), in the ninth year of our Pontificate."

At this time (A.D. 1225) William de Malvoisin was Bishop of St Andrews, and probably it was owing to his energy, wisdom, and courage, coupled with the great influence of the king, that although the pallium and metropolitan rights were not obtained, the Archbishop of York was virtually silenced, and the Church of Scotland allowed peacefully to manage its own affairs.[1]

[1] The pallium is a short white cloak or vestment, with a red cross encircling the neck and shoulders and falling on the back, which, according to ancient usage, is sent from Rome to all Archishops of the Western Church, and to the four Latin Patriarchs of the East, on their accession. It was customary in former times for the Archbishops to go to Rome to receive it, but it is now delivered as a mandatory, or by a delegate from Rome. The cloth of which it is made is woven from the wool of ten white lambs, which are blessed at Rome on the festival of St Agnes, and deposited on the tomb of St Peter during the eve of his festival.—(Brande's Dict., Art. Pal.)

There can be no doubt, then, that an important change took place at this time in the government of the Church of Scotland in consequence of this bull of Honorius. For centuries before this, the councils of the Church, as has already been indicated, seemed to be nothing more than mere conferences of the clergy—called together, perhaps, by the mandate of some legate, who had been sent into the country for a special purpose, or at the wish of the sovereign or some prominent ecclesiastic. There was no complete code of canons, so to speak, emanating from the combined clergy of Scotland, regulating the Church, either in its doctrine, discipline, or worship, except the decrees of General Councils, which affected more or less the whole Christian community. But now the Church of Scotland became invested not merely with *administrative* but with *legislative* power. Although the edict sanctioning this came from Rome, yet the terms of the bull, and the sense in which it was understood and acted on by the Scottish clergy, virtually proclaimed the complete independence of the Scottish Church—an independence not merely as regards the persistent assumptions of the Archbishops of York, but as regards the Bishop of Rome himself. The Scottish clergy determined among themselves

when they were to meet—how they were to meet—what was to be the length of their sittings; and when they did meet, they enacted canons which subsequent Provincial Councils rehearsed, and perhaps improved and confirmed, and which became authoritative and binding on clergy and people alike—altogether independent of ratification or approval by any ecclesiastical power whatever, either in England or at Rome.[1]

It is obvious, then, that soon after this bull of Honorius reached Scotland, the clergy, or at least the leading spirits among them, met together and drew up a preliminary canon, sanctioning the manner in which Provincial Councils should henceforth be called and held. The following are the terms of this canon, viz. :—

"Modus Procedendi in Concilio Cleri Scoticani.

"Primo induantur Episcopi Albis et Amictis Cappis, Solennibus Mitris, Chirothecis, habentes in Manibus Baculos Pastorales; Abbates in superpeliciis et Cappis, Mitrati cum Mitris; Decani et

[1] "These [canons] were bold measures, admirably well calculated for securing the independency of the Church of Scotland, but fatal to the prerogative of the Papal See" (Hailes, Annals, vol. iii. p. 219).

Archdiaconi in superpeliciis et Almuciis[1] et Cappis. Alii vero Clerici sint in honesto habitu et decenti. Deinde procedant duo Ceroferarii; Albis et Amictis induti, cum cereis ardentibus, ante Diaconum, qui legat Evangelium, 'Ego sum Pastor,' &c., quem comitetur sub-diaconus, et petet Diaconus Benedictionem a Conservatore, si præsens fuerit, vel ab antiquiore Episcopo, si fit absens. Perlecto Evangelio, osculetur Liber a Conservatore, et Singulis Episcopis. Deinde incipiat Conservator Hymnum 'veni Creator' et ad quemlibet versum incensetur Altare ab Episcopis; quo facto, qui haberet dicere Sermonem, accepta Benedictione a Conservatore incipiat Sermonem ad Cornu Altaris. Finita Sermone, vocenter citati ad Concilium, et absentes puniantur secundum statuta. Quibus statutis ibidem perlectis in publico, excommunicent Episcopi secundum statuta, habentes Singuli in manibus candelas."

A recent writer of Scottish Church history (Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church of Scotland, &c., vol. ii. pp. 342, 343: Blackwood, 1887) says that it was from "a decree of the first" council that the mode of procedure was

[1] "Amiculum seu Amictus, quo Canonici Caput Humerosque tegebant, Du Cange, Gloss V. Almucium."

determined; but he does not give his authority for this statement. The same writer speaks also in rather a cursory manner regarding the parties composing the council, as shown in the above canon, and perhaps for the very good reason that it completely destroys the idea that these important assemblies were mere councils of prelates, or even of the dignitaries of the Church, and that the inferior clergy, as they were called, and the laity, had nothing to do with the government or legislation of the Church in medieval times. No opinion could be more erroneous than this, as far as the Church of Scotland is concerned, if we are to judge from what is stated in the above-mentioned canon, and to accept the authoritative statements of individuals well qualified to form an opinion on the matter. "The State asserted its right," says Dr Joseph Robertson (Concilia Scotiæ, Bannatyne Club, vol. i. pp. liii and 239), "to a seat in the councils of the Church. By a writ addressed to the bishops and other prelates about to assemble in Synod, the King commissioned two doctors of the civil law to set forth and show to the council what the King had enjoined them to declare touching himself, the state of his realm, and the state of the prelates and the Church of Scotland; and more especially

to protest, and if need were to appeal, that nothing should be enacted by the prelates in Synod which might prejudice the King's Royal Majesty." How then could these representatives of the sovereign make known their wishes, and carry out the instructions they received, unless they had seats in the Provincial Councils of the Church, and were permitted to deliver an opinion if need be on every canon that was enacted?

Not only so, but according to the "*Modus Procedendi*" given above, the clergy, who were then and henceforth to take part in the legislation and government of the Church of Scotland as far as these councils were concerned, were to be individuals of all ranks and orders as they then existed in the country,—bishops, abbots—mitred and unmitred—conventual priors,[1] deans, archdeacons, sub-deacons, and "*alii clerici*"—other clergy—that is to say, the rectors and vicars of parochial churches, and other ecclesiastics throughout the land. Thus it would appear that both laity and clergy were present and took part in these Provincial Councils, and clergy, too, of all ranks. At apparently the first council, which was held in

[1] The mitred abbot had episcopal jurisdiction over his own monastery, the unmitred had not. The conventual priors were heads of their respective houses; the claustral priors had abbots over them, to whom they were next in rank and authority.

Perth in A.D. 1242, and where, it is said, David de Bernham presided, the King, Alexander II., himself was present with certain of his barons, indicating one part of the lay element. And then, again, the abbots and priors were many of them laymen; so that the assemblies were highly representative—representative of the Church of Scotland on the one hand, and of the Scottish monarch and State on the other.

The first president of these Provincial Councils, as has been said, was David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews, whose term of office lasted only for one year. But although he sat there on this occasion, no doubt in virtue of his high position, yet he was known in the assembly, not as *Maximus Episcopus Scottorum*—the highest bishop of the Scots—but as *Conservator* of the Council.[1] A new title was given to him, and to the other presidents who should in turn, in after-years, occupy the same position which he then held—a title, in all probability, conveying the same idea as that of *Moderator* of later times, which

[1] Although the pallium and metropolitan rights were not obtained by the Bishop of St Andrews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, "nevertheless," says Innes, "jure fere omnia et privilegia metropolitica collata fuerunt Episcopo Conservatori, et ab eo, durante sua administratione, exercita, præscriptum quantum ad Concilia Provincialia." The Conservator, during his term of office, held equal rights and privileges.

means the presiding officer, in the kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies of the Presbyterian and National Church of Scotland. These councils were held yearly; the *Conservator* for the time being called them together. He also took heed that the decrees that were enacted by them were duly carried out—a jurisdiction thus apparently not merely extending over his own particular diocese, but over the whole Church. The slothful and negligent were by him punished with censures and other penalties. At the opening of each council a religious ceremony was gone through. The clergy were all robed in the vestments with which they performed the services of the Church, and which belonged to their respective ranks. A procession was formed; and when the place of meeting was entered, a portion of a Gospel was read, a hymn was sung, a sermon was preached, the Book of the Gospels was kissed by the Conservator and all the bishops. Incense was sprinkled on the altar. Benedictions were pronounced, but apparently no masses were celebrated, no litanies were rehearsed, nor any extended form of ritual gone through. The business of the council began with the calling of the roll, punishing the absent, reading in public the canons that had been en-

acted by former assemblies of the Church, and then other necessary matters were taken up; the prescribed time for the council sitting being apparently three days.

Although the bull of Honorius was issued in the year 1225, and during the episcopate of William de Malvoisin, yet, as has been already indicated, it was not for some years afterwards —in all probability not until the year 1242— that the first Provincial Council was held. It met in the ancient city of Perth, a town beautifully situated on the banks of the river Tay. This district of Scotland was at that time, and for years before and after, the centre of great civil and religious influence. It was near to Abernethy, the ancient capital of the Pictish kingdom; to Dunkeld and St Andrews, the seats of famous bishoprics; and to the royal palace of Scone, where successive Scottish monarchs resided, and where they were crowned. And judging from the influence of the Church in those days, and from the power which religion exercised over the minds of the people, we may well imagine what an interest would be everywhere awakened, and what excitement there would be, especially in the ancient city of Perth, when the first Provincial Council of the Church, under the new arrangements, held its

sittings there—"*in domo Fratrum Predicatorum*" (Hailes, Ann., vol. iii. p. 148).

It is unnecessary here to give the canons that were enacted in the first Provincial Council held in Scotland. The learned reader will find them all, as well as the canons of later Provincial Coun cils and Diocesan Synods, duly recorded in the 'Concilia Scotiæ' (tom. i. and ii., Bannatyne Club). Suffice it to say, that they dealt with such matters as the mode of electing the "Conservator,"[1] the teaching of religion to children, the administration of sacraments on the Lord's Day, teinds, and various matters affecting the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church.

In the spring of the year 1242, David de Bernham held an important Diocesan Synod at Musselburgh, where decrees of a somewhat similar character were enacted, and were ordered "to be published in every parish church, and strictly observed by all concerned." These canons will also be found in the volumes above referred to.

[1] This is the second canon, and in regard to it Hailes (Ann., vol. iii. p. 149) observes that in it "every one will perceive the office and duty of a Moderator of the General Assembly. Our forefathers, at the Reformation, were not disposed to condemn every salutary form approved by the experience of ages, merely because it happened to be *Popish*."

CHAPTER XI.

On the Scolocs of the Thirteenth Century.

AMONG the list of churches dedicated by Bishop David de Bernham in the year 1242, it is mentioned that there was one church that was not dedicated but *reconciled* (No. 20)—"reconciliata post effusionem sanguinis"—namely, that of the Holy Trinity at Berwick-on-Tweed. There had been, it would appear, a deadly feud between two *Scolocs* or *Scologs* (*clerici scholares*), and blood—human blood—had polluted the house of God. These two individuals had quarrelled, in all probability, outside the sacred building, and one of them being the weaker, and alarmed by the strength and savage aspect of his assailant, had fled into the church and taken refuge within its walls. He was followed, however, by the other, who, in a moment of overpowering passion, imbrued his hands in his adversary's blood, and laid him prostrate and dead upon the floor. This fatal result would not at all be

unlikely when we consider the barbarousness of the times. At all events, blood was shed. The sanctuary was desecrated, and therefore, according to the custom of the Church in those days, it required purification or reconcilement; and hence, on the 15th day of April 1242, David de Bernham proceeded to Berwick-on-Tweed, and there and then by a solemn service, the terms of which are recorded in his Pontifical, he reconciled this desecrated building.

But who were these Scolocs? The question opens up to us an important inquiry as to the means and modes of education in these comparatively dark ages. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it would appear, the Church of Scotland had still preserved to it *three* offices of an educational character which had belonged to the Church of former centuries, and which the important changes introduced by Malcolm, Margaret, and the monarchs immediately descended from them, had not completely swept away. There were, *first of all*, "the Scoloc;" *secondly*, "the Master of the School;" and *thirdly*, "the Ferleiginn or Lecturer." The Scoloc or Scholar was the first or lowest of these offices, and the person who was so designated seems to have been an ecclesiastical clerk, whose duty it was

to attend upon the canons and perform other subordinate offices in the service of the Church. The very term, however, would seem to imply that he was at the same time undergoing some educational process—at the hands of the Master of the School at one time, and the Ferleiginn or Lecturer at another; so that, in addition to the education that went on in the monasteries, priories, and convents of Scotland in the middle ages, there was another mode of education being carried on by the *secular* clergy in and about their respective churches. There are records in existence which show that there were Scolocs at the time above referred to at Ellon, the ancient capital of the earldom of Buchan; at Kirkcudbright, in the south of Scotland; at Arbuthnott, in the Mearns; at Fetheressan (Fetteresso); and at places in the county of Fife and elsewhere.

The late Dr Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, makes a valuable contribution to this subject in the fifth volume of 'The Spalding Club Miscellany' (Appendix to Preface), in which he relates the following story in regard to Scolocs that were then connected with the church at Kirkcudbright: "A writer of the twelfth century, Reginald of Durham, sometimes also called Reginald of Coldingham, takes occa-

sion, in his lively 'Book of the Miracles of St Cuthbert,' to relate certain incidents which befell the famous St Aelred of Rievaux, in the year 1164, during a journey into Pictland—that is, Galloway, it would seem, or perhaps more generally the provinces of Scotland lying to the south of the Forth and the Clyde. The saintly abbot happened to be at 'Cuthbrictis Khirche,' or Kirkcudbright as it is now called, on the feast day of its great patron. A bull, the marvel of the parish for his strength and ferocity, was dragged to the church, bound with cords, to be offered as an alms and oblation to St Cuthbert. 'The Clerks of the Church,' says Reginald, 'the Scolofthes, as they are called in the Pictish speech [*clerici*], irreverently proposed that the bull should be baited in the churchyard. It was in vain that the elder and wiser of their number remonstrated against the profanity. "There is no Cuthbert here," was the scoffing answer, "nor is this a place to show his power for all his stone chapel." With this the speaker unbound the bull, and began to bait him with the rest. The sequel need scarcely be told. The bull broke loose, and rushed upon his assailants, but hurt no one except only the scholar aforesaid (prædictam scholasticum solummodo). This would

be enough of itself to show that Reginald, or his informant St Aelred, understood the 'Clerks' or 'Scolofthes' of Kirkcudbright to be Scholars. But as if to place his meaning beyond doubt, he inscribes the chapter with the rubric —'*Of a certain Pictish scholar* (*de scholastico quodam Pictorum*) *who rashly broke the peace of St Cuthbert's cemetry, by a bull-bait upon St Cuthbert's day, and of the retribution which befell him.*'"

Two inferences may legitimately be drawn from the above incident: first, that bull-baiting was evidently a pastime in Scotland in the twelfth century; and secondly, that some at least of the inhabitants of Galloway at that comparatively late period of Scottish history were known as Picts.

The *second* order in the scholastic offices of the Scottish Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, according to Dr Robertson, was "the Master of the Schools." Such "masters," or rectors as they might probably be called, are mentioned in documents as existing in those times in Abernethy, the ancient capital of the Pictish kingdom, in Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Ayr, Roxburgh, Berwick-on-Tweed, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and other places in Scotland, which,

we may suppose, were to a certain extent considerable towns or centres of population; and we gather from this that, in such places at all events, the Church had its schools.

The Ferleiginn, Scholasticus, or Lecturer, was the third or highest grade; and the office which such a person held is said to have been, in the early Irish and Scoto-Irish Churches, what the Chancellor was in the English and Scoto-English Churches after the twelfth century—namely, as may be supposed, not merely the Keeper of the Bishop's Seals, but the judge in certain matters, and at times the principal expounder of the various philosophical systems which had been in existence before that time. Such lecturers were to be found in St Andrews and other places in Scotland. And therefore we may infer that the Church of Scotland in the middle ages, both in its religious houses and in its cathedrals and principal parish churches, was not unmindful of the education of youth. There was not, indeed, at this early period, any such thing as a university in Scotland. It was not until the beginning of the fifteenth century that the University of St Andrews—the first in Scotland—came into existence. Neither were there any common schools. But nevertheless, in the previously comparatively

dark ages, the ecclesiastical archæologist cannot fail to discover traces of a widespread educational system pervading the land; not, indeed, doing what should have been done, but perhaps in some measure adequate to the peculiar circumstances of the times.

CHAPTER XII.

Medieval Missions and Preaching.

ALTHOUGH perhaps it would not be correct to speak of Missions, in the modern sense of the term, in connection with the Church of Scotland in the thirteenth century, yet there were not wanting, within the pale of that Church in that age, those who found their way into distant lands; whilst the Church as a whole had its emissaries in various parts of the heathen world. In China, India, Persia, and a great part of Northern Asia, there were at this time not only missionaries, but Christian Churches and numerous bodies of Christians, leavening the masses of society with Gospel truth and the wholesome influence of Christian example. The divine command which was given in ancient Palestine by the Founder of Christianity Himself—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"—although at times not obeyed so readily and zealously as it ought

to have been, has never, however, been lost sight of by the true followers of the Saviour; and although in this century many of the most celebrated churchmen gave themselves up chiefly to the study of theology—the scholastic philosophy, logic, and metaphysics in the great schools of Europe—yet at the same time there were many who, in a humble and self-denying manner, and animated with a truly Christian spirit, went forth from home and country to preach the glad tidings of salvation to perishing souls.

In all probability there would be many Scotsmen among these devoted bands. At all events, Scotsmen were not only to be found at this time in many parts of the continent of Europe, but they would seem also to have had a good reputation there. There is an amusing description given of the adventures of an English cleric named Sampson, who afterwards became abbot of the famous monastery of St Edmundsbury in Suffolk,[1] in the latter part of the twelfth century,

[1] This was a Benedictine abbey, founded in the year 633 by Segebert, king of the East Angles, who left his throne and "became a religious there." The name, however, was given to the place in consequence of the body of Edmund (king and saint) being taken there in the year 903. The value of the abbey at the dissolution is said to have been given at £2336, 16s. 0½d.; but now this may probably represent a sum of between forty and fifty thousand pounds.

in which the character of Scotsmen on the Continent at that time is put in rather a favourable light. Sampson had gone to Rome, evidently when he was a comparatively young man, to endeavour to secure the church of "Woolpit" for the above-mentioned monastery—of which he was probably then an inmate; and now, after he had become abbot of the same house, and when the church of "Woolpit" had again become vacant, through the promotion of Walter of Constance to the bishopric of Lincoln, Sampson immediately convened the prior and a great part of the convent together, and related to them his adventures in the years 1159-1162. The narrative is given by Jocelin of Brakelond, a monk of St Edmundsbury, in his 'Chronicles,' relating to events in the monastery between the years 1173 and 1202.

"'Ye well know,' says Sampson, 'what trouble I had in respect of the church of Woolpit; and in order that it should be obtained for your exclusive use, I journeyed to Rome at your instance, in the time of the schism between Pope Alexander and Octavian; and I passed through Italy at the time when all clerks bearing letters of our lord the Pope Alexander were taken, and some were incarcerated, and some were hanged, and some

with nose and lips cut off were sent back to the Pope, to his shame and confusion. I, however, pretended to be a Scotchman; and putting on the garb of a Scotchman and the appearance of a Scotchman, I often shook my staff in the manner they use that weapon they call a *gaveloc*[1] at those who mocked me, uttering threatening language, after the manner of the Scotch. To those who met and questioned me as to who I was, I answered nothing but, "*Ride ride Rome, turne Cantwereberi.*"[2] This did I to conceal myself and my errand, and that I should get to Rome safer under the guise of a Scotchman. Having obtained letters from the Pope, even as I wished, on my return I passed by a certain castle, as I was taking my way from the city, and behold the officers thereof came about me, laying hold upon me, and saying, "This vagabond who makes himself out to be a Scotchman, is either a spy, or bears letters from the false Pope Alexander." And while they examined my ragged clothes, and my leggings, and my breeches, and even the old

[1] "That is, a javelin or pike. See Spelman (voce *Gaveloc*), who cites the Latin words of the original."

[2] "The meaning of these words seems to be, 'I am riding to Rome, and then I return to Canterbury;' in other words, 'I am a poor pilgrim, first going to Rome, and then to St Thomas à Becket's shrine, so I can have nothing to do with either Pope.'"

shoes which I carried over my shoulders, after the fashion of the Scotch, I thrust my hand into the little wallet which I carried, wherein was contained the writing of our lord the Pope, close by a little jug I had for drinking; and the Lord God and St Edmund so permitting, I drew out that writing together with the jug, so that extending my arm aloft, I held the writ underneath the jug. They could see the jug plain enough, but they did not find the writ; and so I got clear out of their hands, in the name of the Lord. Whatever money I had about me they took away; therefore it behoved me to beg from door to door, being at no charge, until I arrived in England. But hearing that this church had been given to Geoffrey Ridell, my soul was heavy for that I had laboured in vain. Coming, therefore, home, I slunk under the shrine of St Edmund, fearing lest the abbot should seize and imprison me, although I deserved no punishment; nor was there a monk who durst speak to me, or a layman who durst bring me food, except by stealth. At last, upon consideration, the abbot sent me to Acre in exile, and there I stayed a long time. These and innumerable other things have I endured on account of this church of Woolpit; but blessed be God, who rules all for

the best, behold! this very church, for which I have borne so many sufferings, is given into my hand, and now I have the power of presenting the same to whomsoever I will, because it is vacant. And now I render to the convent, and to its exclusive use I assign, the ancient custom or pension of ten marks, which ye have lost for upwards of sixty years. I had much rather have given it to you entire, could I have done so; but I know that the Bishop of Norwich might gainsay this; or even if he did grant it, he would by occasion thereof claim to himself such subjection and obedience from you which it is not advisable or expedient you should acknowledge. Therefore let us do that which by law we may do; and that is, to put a clerk in as vicar, who shall account to the bishop for the spiritualities, and to yourselves for ten marks. And I propose, if you all agree, that this vicarage be given to some kinsman of R. de Hengham, a monk, and one of your brethren, who was joined with me in that expedition to Rome, and was exposed to the same perils as myself, and in respect of the very same matter.'

"Having said these things, we all arose and gave thanks; and Hugh, a clerk, brother of the aforesaid Roger, was nominated to the afore-

said church, saving to us our pension of ten marks."

Much of the Christian teaching of the middle ages was by *Symbols.* In the absence of printed books and literature of all kinds, so far as the people were concerned, the clergy in those times, and in all lands, resorted to pictorial representations of the more prominent parts of Old Testament history, and of the great events in the life of the Saviour, in order to set forth the truths of revelation. The cross was erected not only in churches and churchyards, but even on the public highway, and in the common market-places of towns, so as ever to keep before the minds of men the great and only way of the world's salvation. The cross, the lamb, the serpent, and suchlike, were well-known symbols. The windows of cathedral and parish churches were painted, and their walls outside and inside were sculptured, with such representations of Bible Scripture subjects as "the Fall of Man"; the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness; the Preaching of John the Baptist; the Raising of Lazarus from the Grave; and the Birth, Baptism, Temptation, Transfiguration, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord. Even the symbolic beasts of Scripture—mentioned chiefly

in the Book of Ezekiel's Prophecies and in the Apocalypse—were painted on the windows and carved on the walls of ecclesiastical buildings by the artists of those times, in accordance with the Church's instructions, as modes of teaching the people the sacred truths of revelation; and many such representations are still to be seen on the Christian edifices of those times that still remain to us, and on the dilapidated remains of others that have long since fallen into decay.

Nevertheless it must not be supposed that the preaching of the Gospel was wholly neglected in the middle ages. Although, perhaps, at some times and in some places, this great Christian ordinance did not receive that prominence in the services of the sanctuary which it ought to have done, yet there were many great preachers and much excellent preaching in these ages.

Those fragments of sermons that have come down to us, show that much of the preaching was earnest, Scriptural, and most impressive, and indeed at times calculated to fill the minds of the hearers with awe. Those who are familiar with the poems of Robert Burns may remember the thrill of horror that came over them when for the first time they read those lines in "Tam o' Shanter" describing the midnight scene in

Alloway's haunted kirk, when it was lightened up with the glare of a supernatural light :—

> "Coffins stood round, like open presses,
> That shaw'd the dead in their last dresses;
> And by some devilish cantrip slight
> Each in its cauld hand held a light,—
> By which heroic Tam was able
> To note upon the haly table
> A murderer's banes in gibbet airns;
> Twa span-lang, wee, unchristen'd bairns;
> A thief, new-cutted frae a rape,
> Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape;
> Five tomahawks, wi' bluid red-rusted;
> Five scimitars, wi' murder crusted;
> A garter, which a babe had strangled;
> A knife, a father's throat had mangled,
> Whom his ain son o' life bereft,—
> The grey hairs yet stack to the heft."

And yet the above is not more striking and awful than the following from one of the homilies of the Anglo-Saxon preacher and historian, "*The Venerable Bede*," who was born in the year 635, and died in 672. "It was the Lord's will," he says, "that Paul should *see* the punishments of that place. He beheld trees all on fire, and sinners tormented on those trees; and some were hung by the feet, some by their hands, some by the hair, some by the neck, some by the tongue, and some by the arm. And again he saw a

furnace of fire burning with seven flames, and many were punished in it: and there were seven plagues round about this furnace; the first was snow, the second ice, the third fire, the fourth blood, the fifth serpents, the sixth lightning, the seventh stench; and in that furnace itself were the souls of the sinners who repented not in this life. There they are tormented, and every one receiveth according to his works: some weep, some howl, some groan; some burn and desire to have rest, but find it not, because souls can never die. . . . And after this he saw between heaven and earth the soul of a sinner howling betwixt seven devils, that had on that day departed from the body. . . . And Paul demanded of the angel how many kinds of punishment there were in hell. And the angel said, There are a hundred and forty-four thousand; and if there were a hundred eloquent men, each having four iron tongues, that spoke from the beginning of the world, they could not reckon up the torments of hell. . . . But let us, beloved brethren, hearing of these so great torments, be converted to our Lord, that we may be able to reign with the angels."

We have only to add to the above the presence, the eloquence, and the earnestness of the preacher,

in order to realise how much moved the audience must have been under such teaching.

It seems to have been the practice of some preachers in the thirteenth century to enliven and instruct their hearers by quotations even from the Fables of Æsop. Vincent of Beauvois, a French Dominican, mentions this in his book the 'Mirror of History.' And from the collections of medieval stories that still exist, it would seem that such fancied narratives were often made use of by preachers in those times to illustrate and enforce more effectively the solemn truths of revelation. The 'Gesta Romanorum' or 'Deeds of the Romans' was a work of this kind; and from its pages not only did Shakespeare, Schiller, and other well-known poets, borrow some of their most beautiful fancies, but even preachers in times long anterior to theirs made use of these tales to illustrate and enforce the truths and doctrines they proclaimed from the pulpit.

Hildebert was made Archbishop of Tours in France in the year 1185, when he was seventy years of age. The following extract from his sermon on "Crosses and Sufferings" will show how beautifully he could apply Scripture truth in his pulpit teaching: "The love of the world

in its commencement is sweet, but in the end bitter; the love of God at first appears bitter, but in the end it becomes sweet. This is proved to us in a remarkable manner by the evangelist's account of the marriage feast at Cana, where it is said, 'Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse: but thou hast kept the good wine until now.' The natural man first imbibes the good wine — that is to say, he is dazzled by the deceitful sweetness of earthly pleasures: when these false desires have made him drunken, then must he drink the bad; conscience and its sting approaches. But Jesus keeps the good wine until the end. Will He satisfy a soul with His love, He first permits it to undergo sorrow and suffering, that the gracious draught may be so much the more refreshing and the sweeter."

Peter of Blois, a medieval preacher, was at one time Archdeacon of London; and here is a passage from an address by him to the clergy over whom he was placed: "Oh, how awful, how perilous a thing, my brethren, is the administration of your office! because ye shall have to answer not only for your own souls, but for the souls committed to your charge, when the day of tremendous

judgment shall come! And how shall he keep *another* man's conscience whose own is not kept? Oh, there is a fire kindled in the fury of the Lord, and it shall burn even to the nethermost hell! A place is appointed for him with everlasting burnings; the worm is prepared which dieth not; smoke, vapour, and the vehemence of storms—horror and a deep shade—the weight of chains of repentance that bind, that burn and that consume not! From which may that Fire deliver us who consumes not, but consummates; which devours not, but enlightens every man that cometh into the world! May He illuminate us to give the knowledge of salvation unto His people, who liveth and reigneth ever with the Father and the Holy Ghost, God to all ages of ages." [1]

[1] Quoted from Lecture by Dean Ramsay, "Pulpit Table-talk."

CHAPTER XIII.

Dilapidation of Thirteenth-Century Church Edifices in Scotland.

IN the days of David de Bernham there were, it is believed, 234 churches within the diocese of St Andrews; while throughout the whole kingdom there could not be less than 1000 ecclesiastical buildings of one kind or another. The style of these edifices would vary according to the particular period in which they had been erected and the localities in which they were situated. In Berwickshire, the Lothians, and the south of Scotland generally, probably some Anglo-Saxon edifices still existed; but the great proportion of churches in these districts would be of the Anglo-Norman type, with square tower and round-headed windows and doors. For after the Norman Conquest in 1066, Norman architects, builders, and masons found their way into England, and soon covered the whole country with their somewhat massive but beautiful designs.

By this time, therefore, these persons must have done considerable work of a similar kind in the southern counties of Scotland. Indeed in this century the Anglo-Gothic, with the tops of the windows and doors pointed, would be beginning to appear in ecclesiastical buildings, although probably the Anglo-Norman or Romanesque would still prevail. In the counties north of the Forth and Clyde, on the other hand, and especially in the Highlands of Scotland, there would be many churches and chapels of a Celtic type; although, in these localities also, many instances of Anglo-Norman design would be found. The reader who wishes for further information on this subject will find much interesting matter in a work published by Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh, in 1861, entitled, 'Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, &c., in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland' (by Mr T. S. Muir).

Few if any thirteenth-century ecclesiastical edifices, it is to be feared, now remain in Scotland. Those buildings which David de Bernham and William Wishart dedicated, have probably long since gone to decay. Indeed the Church of Scotland, in its long and checkered history, has perhaps, more than any other Church in Christendom, suffered not merely from the ravages of

time, but from the rude hand of violence. Those ecclesiastical edifices of the middle ages — the abbeys, priories, cathedrals, parish churches, and suchlike — which in former times represented outwardly the Christianity of the land and the architectural art of the period, are now in most instances nothing more than decayed and imperceptible ruins. Erected under the deepest feelings of piety and devotion, and for the noblest of purposes—and that, too, in a country celebrated for the picturesqueness of its scenery and the historic character of many of its associations—these religious houses of former centuries have now in most cases disappeared, and a few stones or naked walls only are all that are left to indicate to the traveller the spot where former generations of Scotsmen worshipped God. It is impossible even now to withhold admiration from the taste and æsthetic feeling displayed by the founders of these edifices, not only in the construction of the buildings themselves, but even in the selection of the sites. Often beside streams of great beauty, or in glens embosomed among rugged mountains, or near forests of imposing grandeur, or on the prominent cliffs of the ocean's shores, or in the quiet retreats of rural villages, the ecclesiastics of those ages planted their

churches and other houses of devotion, and in most cases spared neither time, labour, nor expense to make them worthy of that Great Being in whose honour and for whose service they were specially erected. But war, internal strife, tribal commotion, thirst for plunder, as well as time itself and neglect, and other causes, singly or combined, have carried most of them away, and robbed the country of some of the richest architectural gems of medieval art. Indeed it seems to be the fate of the Church of Christ, in all ages of its history and in all countries where it has been planted, notwithstanding its beneficent designs and continued progress, to suffer at the hands of spoilers; and the Church of Scotland, at various periods of its history, has been no exception to this general law.

But perhaps the most remarkable period in this respect was that which occurred at the Reformation. That great social and religious upheaving, which in the sixteenth century spread over all Europe, and which no doubt purified the Church and delivered mankind from many sore and grievous trammels, produced a literal desolation in the properties and revenues of the Scottish Church. Not only were its monastic and conventual edifices, its imposing cathedrals and beautiful parish

churches, in most instances levelled to the ground, but its extensive lands were alienated, its sacred vessels of gold and silver were taken away and some of them sold, and many of its valuable records, manuscripts, furnishings, and books of devotion were either committed to the flames, laid aside in private dwellings, or carried away into foreign lands. The barons and other nobles, taking advantage of the religious excitement of the times to aggrandise themselves, not only encouraged the Reforming clergy and people in the destruction of the great religious houses, but sometimes they took part in the work of demolition themselves, so that the abbots, priors, and other ecclesiastics being compelled to fly, there might be none left to demand restitution.[1]

As an evidence of what took place at that eventful period of Scottish ecclesiastical history, the following may be adduced:—

"An Act was passed (by the Estates of the Realm, A.D. 1560) for demolishing cloysters and abbey churches, such as were not as yet pulled down; the execution whereof was for the west parts committed to the Earles of *Arrane, Argile,*

[1] On the 28th March 1561, the Lords of the Congregation "*past to Stirling, and be the way kest down the Abbey of Dunfermling*" (Regist. de Dunf., Pref., p. xxv, from Pitscottie).

and *Glencairn*, for the north to Lord James, and for the in-countries to some barons that were held most zealous.

"Thereupon issued a pitifull vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the Church and bibliotheques cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult, did now undergo the common calamity; which was so much the worse that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of public authority."—(Spottiswoode, Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland—London, 1655—lib. iii. pp. 174, 175.)

Lord Hailes, though not doubting the truthfulness of Spottiswoode's statement, remarks that he gives no authority for it.

When Lord Hertford was sent by Henry VIII. to invade Scotland in the year 1544, he surprised

and plundered Leith (the Scottish army being on the Borders), and gave Edinburgh for three days to the flames. "One hundred and ninety-two towns, parish churches, castel-houses, and 243 villages were cast down or burnt, and the country was reduced almost to a desert."—(Haynes, State Papers, 43 and 52, July–November 1544. Cf. Tytler, vol. v. p. 310, footnote.)

In 1545 the same General destroyed the monasteries of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh.

The Cecil Papers state that the Earl of Hertford destroyed between 8th and 23d September 1545, 7 monasteries, 16 castles, 5 market towns, 243 villages, 13 mills, and 3 hospitals (R. O. Scotland, Henry VIII., vol. viii., No. 86).

The first General Assembly of the Reformed Church met at Edinburgh on December 20, 1560 (December 21), and at page 1 of the 'Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland,' No. 4, there appears the following: "The parishioners of Restalrig appointed to repair to Leith kirk, and the kirk of Restalrig ordered to be razed and demolished, as a monument of idolatry."

"The Cathedral of Channery, where the Bishop's seat is, was demolished at the Reformation."—(Forbes on Ch. Lands and Tithes—Edinburgh, 1705—p. 79.)

"The Black Book of Paisley, an edition of Fordun, was carried to England by General Lambert, and bought by Charles II. for £200. It is now in the British Museum."—(Walcott, Anc. Ch. of Scot., p. 297.)

"The Chartulary or Writes of the Bishoprick of Dunblane are not to be found. Sir James Dalrymple conjectures they have been carried over sea at the Reformation by George Thomson, or some other churchman of that diocese."—(Forbes on Ch. Lands and Tithes, p. 78.)

As many leading churchmen in those times fled to France and other parts of the continent of Europe, probably they carried many records with them, some of which may yet be found by archæologists in the libraries of these places.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concluding Remarks—Death of David de Bernham.

IT is now more than 630 years since the remains of David de Bernham were peacefully laid within the precincts of the Monastery of Kelso. That religious house, situated near the confluence of the Teviot and the Tweed, and sheltered by noble trees and wooded heights, although on the borders of Scotland, was yet within the extensive diocese of St Andrews, but being a mitred abbacy, was not under the spiritual jurisdiction of its bishop. Here, therefore, and not at St Andrews, where he should have been interred, and where the St Andrews ecclesiastics desired that his interment should take place, did they lay the body of David de Bernham. He had evidently been spending his closing days in the neighbourhood, although little or nothing is known as to how he was employed. In the year 1251 he went to York, accompanied by several of the Scottish nobility, to be present at

the marriage of King Alexander III., then only about ten years of age, with Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England, and "to see all things duly performed"; and, according to Spottiswoode, he was seized with fever there, and died on the 1st May 1251 (lib. ii. p. 44). Fordun, on the other hand (Scot., lib. vi. cap. 42), states that he died at Nanthanira (Nenthorn), a parish in the south-west of Berwickshire, and four miles to the north-west of Kelso, on the VI. Kal. Maii—that is, the 26th April—1253, and was buried at the latter place, as above stated, "contra protestationem ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ," having been bishop thirteen years, three months, and nine days.

David de Bernham seems to have been a person of great vigour and determination of character. Spottiswoode says "he kept a severe hand over the clergy, especially the monks and others that lived in religious orders." Fordun applies to him the epithets "durus" and "inhumanus," and gives an instance of the apparent injustice and harshness of his character in taking away from the fraternity at St Andrews the church of Inchture, which William (evidently William the Lion) had given to the said brotherhood. "Hic collegio suo durus et inhumanus exstitit exactionibus, auguriis et extortionibus

fatigavit; et ecclesiam de Inchture, quam piæ memoriæ rex Willelmus Canonicis ante dederat, injuste et de facto abstulit: sed inde modicum lucri reportavit, quia subito post, in ægritudinem incurabilem incidit, per quam ad extremam horam perveniens, restituta tamen eis ecclesia." Shortly before his death, according to Fordun, he was moved to restore the church to the canons of St Andrews, from whom it had been unjustly taken away.

It is generally supposed, however, that Fordun had no liking for David de Bernham, and hence his rather unfavourable estimate of his character. Nevertheless he must have been a person of great mental power and energy, and probably it will be safer to consider him as a great and a good man in his day, one well qualified to discharge the duties of an onerous and responsible position, and who, whatever his faults may have been, spared neither time nor trouble to benefit his country and the Church of which he was so distinguished a servant.

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